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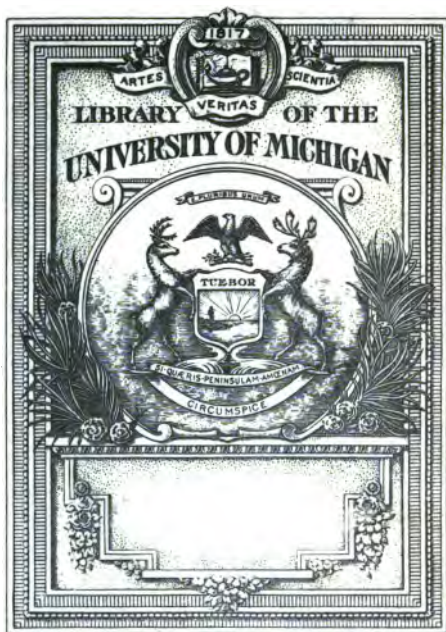
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Drummond (Wm.),
History of Scotland from
year 1542; 12mo cal^d



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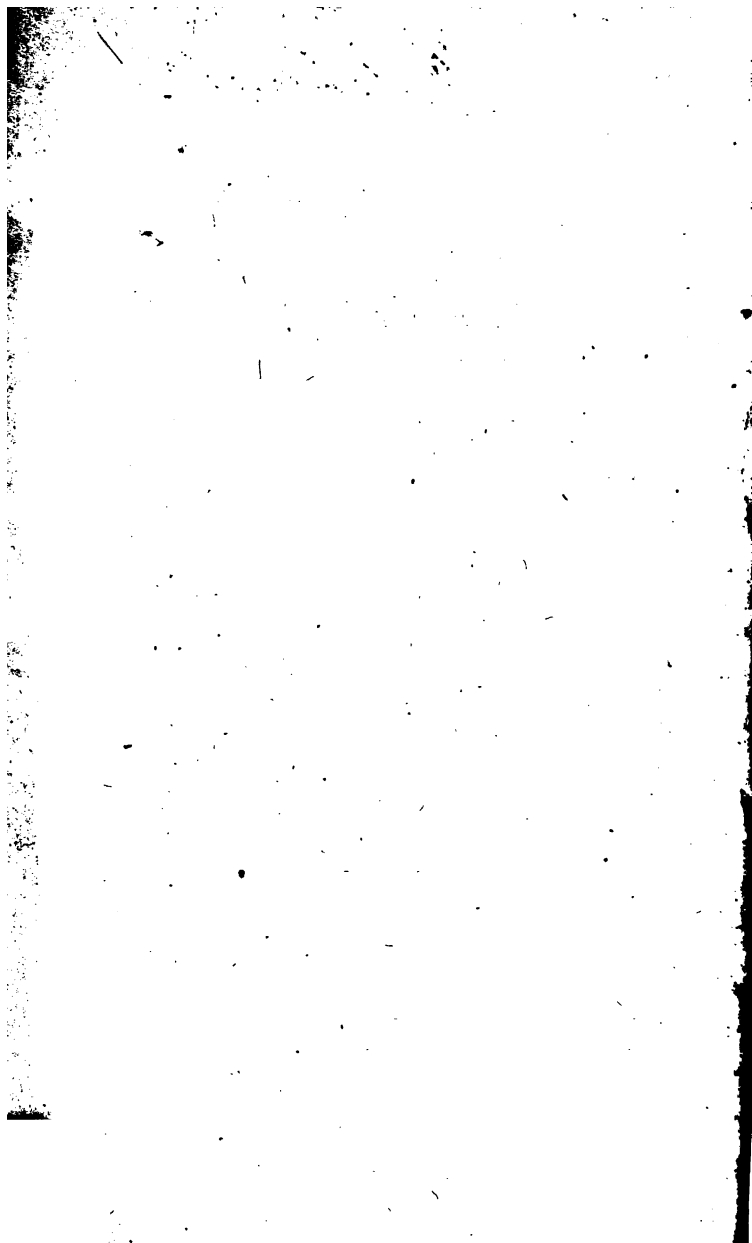
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And. Dunlop

THE
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OF
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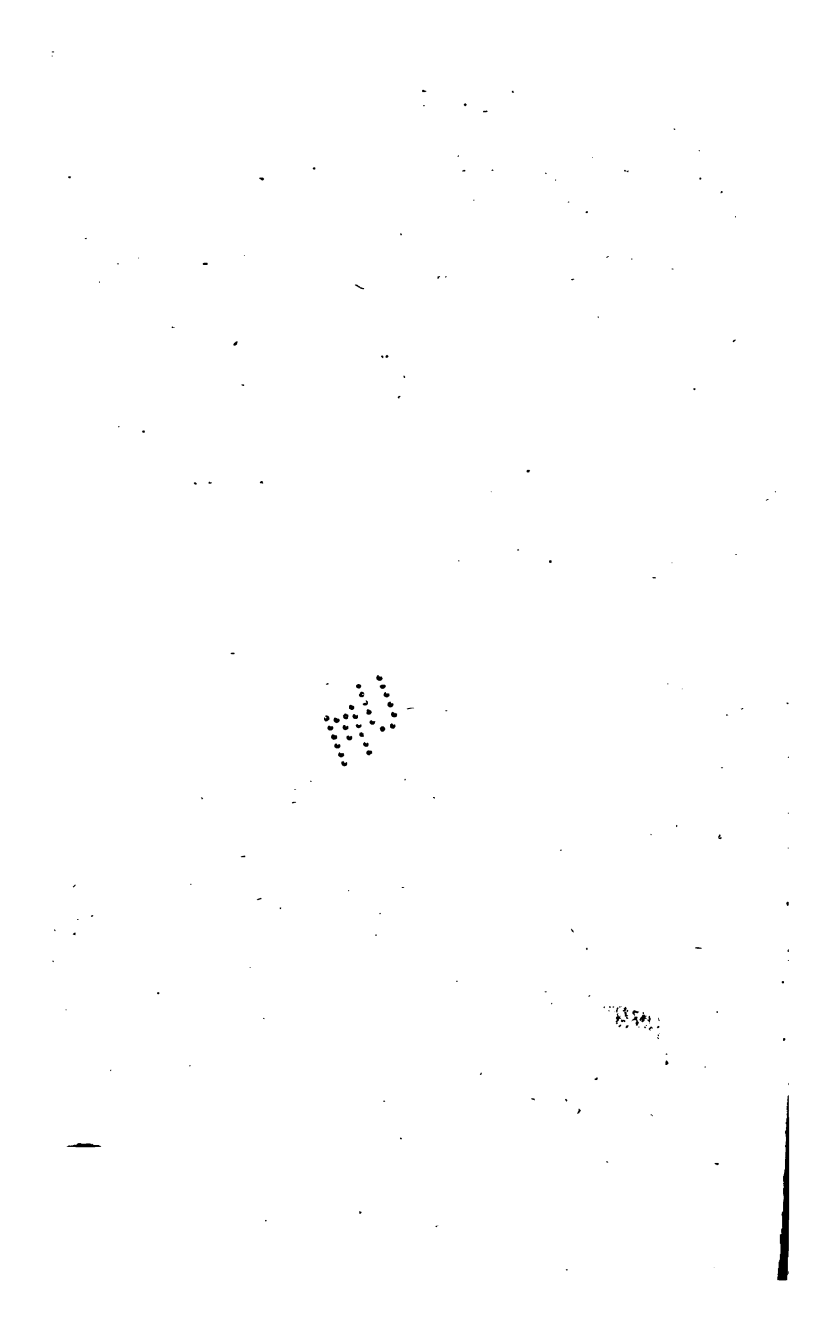
From the Year 1423, to the Year 1542.

CONTAINING THE
LIVES AND REIGNS
OF
JAMES I. II. III. IV. and V.

By WILLIAM DRUMMOND, Esq;
of HAWTHORNDEN.

GLASGOW:

Printed by R. URIE, MDCCLXIX.



Chester W. Clark
H
6-17-1926

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE,

My very good LORD and CHIEF,

J O H N

E A R L of P E R T H.

SOME may think, that the writing of this history proceeded from ambition or the desire of fame; others, that my design was to compliment the high and mighty prince CHARLES, as affecting some place or pension. I have always been careless and negligent about fame and reputation. According to my duty, I have writ papers of another kind, vindicating his majesty's just government; and taxing his disloyal subjects with rebellion, and overthrowing the state. But my greatest reason for writing this is, that I found in the histories of Scotland, JAMES I.

A

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a man eminent in all virtues, a man born of the same country with myself, a prince, and the son of a DRUMMOND, lineally descended of your lordship's ancient family, of which so many great personages have sprung. The founder of your family, who first bore the name, came from Hungary to Scotland as admiral with St. MARGARET, queen to king MALCOLM CANMORE, above six hundred years ago, when surnames were first known in this kingdom. In king ROBERT BRUCE's days, WALTER DE DRUMMOND, son to MALCOLM BEG DRUMMOND, your lordship's predecessor, was, according to STOW's annals, clerk-register, or secretary to the king, and one of the commissioners for making a peace or cessation of arms at Newcastle, in the year of God 1323, betwixt king ROBERT BRUCE and EDWARD II. king of England. In king DAVID BRUCE's time, the DRUMMONDS were very famous, as being implacable enemies to the MONTEITHS (who had basely betrayed that great hero Sir WILLIAM WALLACE) whom they fought several times, and killed many of them; as we may see by an agreement made between them, by the king's special command,

DEDICATION. ▼

command, at the sight of his two justiciaries Sir HUGH EGLINTON and Sir ROBERT ERSKINE of Alloa. An original copy of this agreement is to be seen in your lordship's charter-chest, written on fine parchment, and in ornate Latin; it is dated on the banks of the river Forth over-against Stirling, Sunday the 17th of May 1360. Sir MALCOLM DRUMMOND, brother to queen ANNABELLA DRUMMOND, married DOUGLAS heiress of Mar, and was made earl of Mar, but died without succession. He was an excellent and valiant man, and in great reputation with king DAVID BRUCE, ROBERT II. and ROBERT III. For his good services at the battle of Otterburn, in taking prisoner Sir RALPH PERCY, brother to HENRY PERCY, called Hotspur, earl of Northumberland, he got a yearly pension of five hundred pounds out of the customs of Inverness during life. When king JAMES I. was captive in England, we find a passport granted by the king of England to one DUNGALLUS DRUMMOND, who had been at London attending his royal master, to return home. Among the nobility and gentry who were delegated

from Scotland, and had passports from England to meet at Durham, and convoy king JAMES I. home after his long captivity, was Sir JOHN DRUMMOND of Stobhall, a very considerable man in those days. He was married to ELEANOR SINCLAIR earl of Orkney's daughter, whose mother was lawful daughter to ROBERT II. Sir JOHN by his sister queen ANNABELLA DRUMMOND, was uncle to king JAMES, and his lady was cousin-german to him; so he was more than one way nearly related to the royal family. JOHN DRUMMOND, youngest son to Sir JOHN DRUMMOND of Stobhall, and nephew to Sir MALCOLM above-mentioned, went abroad in the year 1419, and settled in the islands of Madera, and was called JOHN ESCORTIO DRUMMOND; from whom is descended a numerous offspring very rich and potent, as several letters to your lordship, and to your lordship's predecessors, do abundantly testify. Your lordship's great-grand-father, JOHN, first lord DRUMMOND, was a wise and brave man; he was justice-general of Scotland for many years: In the reigns of king JAMES III. and king JAMES IV. he made a very considerable figure, and was
very

D E D I C A T I O N. vii

very remarkable both for arms and arts, though he fell into great misfortunes by too closely adhering to his friends and relations the Douglasses, as all our historians inform us. Your lordship's brother, JAMES, first earl of Perth, was well educated in France; and when JAMES VI. came to the crown of Great-Britain, he was sent ambassador with CHARLES earl of Nottingham high admiral of England, to PHILIP III. king of Spain, for taking that king's oath upon the ratification of the articles of peace concluded betwixt the two crowns, and for mediating a peace betwixt Spain and the Low-countries: which embassy he performed with success and applause. From such early appearances, we had just reasons to expect great things would follow: But soon after his return he died, being not much above 20 years of age. And I may say about your lordship, without flattery, which I abominate, that even in these worst of times, you are eminently conspicuous for piety and prudence, for loyalty towards the king, for real affection towards your country, for kindness towards your friends, and for the care you take in preserving your family, and managing your affairs so

justly and frugally. I have only mentioned some few of your lordship's predecessors; for if I should tell all the great and illustrious personages of your name, and the alliances your family hath with other great houses in this nation, it would swell this beyond the true bounds of a dedication. But the greatest honour of all, and no subject can have any greater, is, that the high and mighty prince CHARLES king of Great-Britain, and the most part of the crowned heads in Europe, are descended of your honourable and ancient family.

It may seem strange to many, that I, who the most part of my life, have been writing about small things in verse, should adventure to write about so many great and weighty affairs in prose: But what could not the love I carry to your lordship's family make me attempt to do, and the virtues of so high and great a prince as king JAMES I. descended of your lordship's house? If we believe some school-men, that the souls of the departed have some dark knowledge of the actions done upon earth, which concern their good or evil; what solace then will this bring to JAMES I. that after two hundred years, he
hath

DEDICATION. ix

hath had one of his mother's name, and race, that hath renewed his fame and actions in the world? That your lordship may live long to be the ornament of your name and nation, to be a protector of your friends, and a patron of learning and learned men, is the sincere desire of,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most humble,

Most obedient, and most

Faithful servant and kinsman,

WILL. DRUMMOND.



T H E H I S T O R Y O F T H E R E I G N o f J A M E S I.

TH E nobles of Scotland being wearied with the form of their present government; (for though they had a king, they enjoyed not the happiness of his sway, by his restraint afar off, under the power of a stranger;) some of them were possessed with hopes, by the change of the head, to find a change in the body of the state, and a flow of their ebbing fortunes; the church-men and the gentry having ever continued loyal and well-affected to the lawful heir of the crown; the commons, men delighting in novations, and ordinarily preferring uncertainties, and things unseen and to come, to what for the time they did hold and enjoy; the governour of the kingdom also himself, irritated by the misdemeanour of his children, and forecasting the danger he might be plunged into, if the states should purchase the recovery of their king, he not complying with their design; all unanimously and together determine, without longer prolongings, to work the delivery of their native prince, JAMES, forth of England, where he had been detained eighteen years as a prisoner.

They who were chosen and got commission to negotiate his liberty were ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, son to ARCHIBALD duke of Turrain, WILLIAM HAY constable of the realm, ALEXANDER IRVINE

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of Drumknight, HENRY LIGHTON bishop of Aberdeen, and ALEXANDER CORNWALL arch-dean of Lothian.

These coming to London, were graciously received by the state, and severally entertained by king JAMES, and so many friends as either his alliance or virtues had acquired. After some few days stay, desiring to have audience in council, they were admitted; where bishop LIGHTON is said to have spoken to this effect.

“ The respect and reverence which the nation of the
“ Scots carrieth towards all kings, is every where
“ known; but chiefly that love and loyalty which they
“ have to the sacred persons of their own native princes: for, as monarchy is the most ancient form of
“ government, so have they ever esteemed it the best,
“ it being more easy to find one instructed and trained
“ up in heroical virtues, than to find many. And how
“ well soever governours and vicegerents rule the commonwealth; yet is that government but as the light
“ of the moon or stars in absence of the sun, and but
“ representations of shadows for real bodies. This hath
“ moved the three estates of that kingdom to direct us
“ here unto you.

“ Our king these many years hath been kept from
“ us, upon just or unjust grounds we will not argue.
“ That providence, which hath appointed every thing
“ to its own end, hath done this for the best, both to
“ you and us: And we are now to treat with you for
“ his delivery; beseeching you to remember, that his
“ father, of sacred memory, recommended him, out of
“ that general duty which one prince oweth to another,
“ to your king’s protection, in hope of sanctuary, and
“ in request of aid and comfort against secret, and
“ therefore the more dangerous, enemies. And to confess
“ the truth, hitherto he hath been more assured
“ amongst you, than if he had remained in his own
“ country, your favours being many ways extended
“ towards him; having in all liberal sciences and virtues brought him up: that his abode with you seemeth rather to have been a remaining in an acadmy,
“ than in any captivity; and thus he had been lost, if he
“ had not been lost. Besides, though we have the happiness to claim his birth and stem, ye have the claim of his

“ success.

“ succession and education, he being now matched with
“ the royal blood of England in marriage. Thus his li-
“ berty, which we entreat for, is a benefit to yourselves,
“ and those princes which shall claim the descent of his
“ offspring. For if it should fall forth (as what may
“ not, by the variable changes of kingdoms, come to
“ pass?) that this prince by usurpers and rebels were
“ disgarnished of his own crown, they are your swords
“ which should brandish, to set him on his royal throne.
“ We expect, that as ye have many ways rendered him
“ yours, you will not refuse to engage him yet more
“ by his liberty, which he must acknowledge wholly
“ and freely to receive from you: and by benefits and
“ love to overcome a king, is more than by force of
“ arms. And since he was not your prisoner by chance
“ of war, having never raised arms against you, but by
“ way of protection detained here, and entertained; so
“ ye will, respecting your ancient honour and gener-
“ sity, send him freely back to his own. Yet if it be
“ so, that ye will have acknowledgement, for what ye
“ have bestowed on his education, the distress of the
“ present estate of his subjects and crown considered,
“ we will not stand upon trifles of money for the re-
“ demption of a prince above all price.”

The lords of the council were diverse ways inclined to this embassy. Some thought not fit to dismiss him; for his remaining in England seemed the more to assure the kingdom of Scotland unto them: having the king and his children in their custody, what dared they not enterprize, or not bring to pass? Or if Scotland should plot any thing by way of rebellion, the king having his party within the realm, by the assistance of the English would keep under the other factions; and thus the estate by both being made weak, it would be a fair breach for a conquest, and the annexing that kingdom to the crown of England: that he knew too much of the estate and affairs of England to be sent away to a nation ever their enemies: that being at liberty and amongst his own, he might resent the injury of his long restraint.

Others of the council thought it best to dismiss him. They had learned by experience, that the keeping of
the

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the king of Scots hindered no ways the Scots from assisting the French; yea, rather that it did exasperate their choler, and make them in revenge addict themselves wholly to the French: the governour no ways keeping to the English, but siding with the French, upon whom to be revenged they could find no surer way than to set at liberty the king, whose return of necessity must needs change the face of the state, and trouble him. As for the conquest of the crown of Scotland, it was not at that time of such moment for England, they having the most part of France in their subjection, which was as much, if not more, as they could hold. Then it would prove a more harmless and sure purchase to make Scotland theirs, by the succession of lady JANE of Somerset, than by war; the event whereof is ever doubtful and beyond any assurance of man. The liberty of the king of Scots might prevent the encreasing strength of the king's enemies in France, and secure the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth at home: king JAMES being all English by education, if he proved not of their party, yet he must prove neutral to both the kingdoms.

HENRY VI. then king of England, being of under-age, was governed by his two uncles of his father's side, HUMPHREY duke of Gloucester, who was made protector of his person and realm, JOHN duke of Bedford, who was established regent of France, and THOMAS duke of Exeter. But HENRY BEAUFORT cardinal, bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, a man eminent in blood and riches, uncle to the lady JANE, in effect governed all. These gave way, rather than approved that the king of Scots should be set at liberty and sent home. And though they would have dismissed him freely, in respect of the dowry of his queen, which was not delivered, having use of present money for the maintenance of the wars in France, and the more to cover the injustice of his captivity, they thought it expedient to set a ransom upon him.

The commissioners having met, it was declared, that for a sufficient sum of money their king might return, and enjoy his own liberty; the one half to be paid in hand, able hostages remaining in England till the other half

half was fully discharged. The ransom agreed upon was four hundred thousand merks; but by the power of the cardinal the third was discharged, for which he was long after accused before the king by the duke of Gloucester.

The governour and estates of Scotland, having known the sum laid upon them for the liberty of the king, though the hasty acquiring of it was grievous unto them, preferring glory and things necessary to matters of mony, immediately dispatched so much as could be gathered, together with many young noblemen of the kingdom to remain hostages for the rest; who, according to the English writers, were DAVID son to the earl of Athole, ALEXANDER earl of Crawford, the lord GORDON, JOHN DE LINDSAY, PATRICK son and heir to Sir JOHN LYON, DAVID DE OGILBY, Sir WILLIAM DE RUTHVEN, MILES GRAHAM, DAVID MOUBRAY, and WILLIAM OLIPHANT. These were honourably received, entertained, and kept. The king's brother-in-law, the earl of Somerset, and the cardinal his uncle, accompanied the queen to the borders, and there taking their leave returned back. The king with the rest of their train, received with many troops of nobles and gentlemen, who swarmed from all parts of the kingdom to give him a dutiful welcome into his native soil, and themselves the contentment of beholding one they had so long desired and expected, with loud acclamations and applauses of the commons as he held his progress, on the passion week, in Lent, came to Edinburgh.

During his abode there, he assembled many of the estates, listened to their petitions, and prepared for the approaching parliament, which had been summoned before his coming. The solemnities of Easter finished, the king came with his queen to Perth, and from thence, in the beginning of the month of May, to Scone, where, in the year 1424, by MORDOCK the governor, duke of Albany and earl of Fife (to whom that charge by custom of the kingdom did appertain) and HENRY bishop of St. Andrews, in the 27th year of his age, there was a joint coronation of himself and his queen, being according

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cording to the computation of the old Scottish history, the hundred and one king of Scotland.

At which time SIGISMOND, son to CHARLES IV. was emperor of the west; JOHN VII. the son of ANDRONICUS, of the east; AMURATH II. great Turk; ALPHONSUS V. king of Spain; CHARLES VII. king of France; HENRY VI. king of England; and with MARTIN V. many claimed the chair of St. PETER.

The ends in calling the parliament were, the coronation of the king, to make the people see a prince's authority was come, where they had but lately a governor's; the establishing a peace amongst the subjects, and taking away all factions; the exacting a subsidy for the relief of the hostages in England. To this last, the nobles held strong hand, by reason many of their sons were engaged. Here a general tax was condescended upon through the whole realm, as twelve pennies of the pound to be paid of all lands, as well spiritual as temporal, and four pennies of every cow, ox, and horse, for the space of two years together. When the commons had taken it grievously that the subsidy, granted by the states of the kingdom in parliament, was exacted mostly of them; after the first collection, the king, pitying their poverty, remitted what was unpaid, and, until the marriage of his daughter, thereafter never exacted any subsidy of his subjects. For he would gently strain milk, and not wring blood from the breast of his country, rendering the disposure thereof chaste, sincere, and pure for expences necessary and profitable, not for profusions, which neither afford contentment nor reputation; for money is both the nerves which give motion, and veins which entertain life in a state. Amongst others whom the king honoured, ALEXANDER, second son to duke MORDOCK, was dubbed knight.

The parliament dissolving, the king came from Perth to Edinburgh, where having assembled all the present officers, and such who had born authority in the state during the time of duke ROBERT and duke MORDOCK, especially those whose charge concerned the rents of the crown, he understood by their accompts, that the most part of all the rents, revenues, and lands pertaining to the crown, were wasted, alienated, and put away,

way, or then by the governors bestowed on their friends and followers, the customs of towns and buroughs only excepted. This a little incensed his indignation; yet did he smother and put a fair countenance on his passion, seeming to slight what he most cared for. Occasion thereafter no sooner served, when he began to countenance and give way to promoters and informers (necessary, though dangerous instruments of state, which many good princes have been content to maintain, and such who were not bad never denied to hear, but using them no longer than they were necessary for their ends) to rip up secret and hidden crimes, wrongs suffered or committed during the time of his detention in England. He received the complaints of the churchmen, country-gentlemen, merchants, against all those who had either wronged them or the state, and would have the causes of all accusers to be heard and examined. Here many, to obtain the favour of the prince, accused others.

Upon pregnant accusations, WALTER STUART, one of the sons of duke MORDOCK, was arrested, and sent to the Bais, to be close kept; so was MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumbernauld, and THOMAS BOYD of Kilmarnock, committed to ward in Dalkeith. Not long after, the nobility interceding, MALCOLM and THOMAS (goods being restored which they had taken wrongfully, and fines laid upon them for their offence, promising to satisfy all whom they had wronged) were pardoned all faults, and then set at liberty.

The king, by listening to promoters, came to the knowledge of many great insolencies committed by fundry of his nobles: which as it bred hatred in him, so fear in them, and both appeared to study a novation: they for their own safety, he to vindicate justice and his authority. The duke had highly resented the committing of his son, as had his father-in-law the earl of Lenox. The malecontents being many, if they could have swayed in one body as they came to be of one mind, threatened no small matter. The king, from the intelligence of close meetings, secret leagues, some plots of his nobles, began to forecast an apparent storm in the state, and danger to his own person: whereupon,
being

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being both couragious and wise, he proclaimeth again a parliament at Perth; where the three estates being assembled, in his throne of majesty he spoke in this manner.

“ I have learned from my tender years, that royalty
 “ consisteth not so much in a chair of state, as in such
 “ actions which do well become a prince. What mine
 “ have been since my coming home and government a-
 “ mong you, I take first God, and then yourselves for
 “ witnesses. If all of them be not agreeable to you all,
 “ and if any rigorous dealing be used against some, let
 “ him who is touched lay aside his particular, and look
 “ to the settling of justice in the state, and public good
 “ of the whole kingdom, and he shall find his sufferings
 “ tolerable, perhaps necessary, and, according to the
 “ time, deserved. I have endeavoured to take away
 “ all discords, abolish factions, suppress oppression: as
 “ no foreign power hath attempted ought against you
 “ hitherto, so ye should not endeavour ought one
 “ against another, nor any thing against the weal-pu-
 “ blic and sovereignty. Slow have I been in punish-
 “ ing injuries done to myself, but can hardly pardon
 “ such as are done to the commonwealth: for this have
 “ I called this parliament. Let rapine and outrage no
 “ more be heard of, but every man recal himself to a
 “ civil and regular form of life. Especially you, my
 “ nobles, think virtue and civility true nobility; that
 “ to be accounted noblest which is best, and that a man’s
 “ own worth begets true glory. By these, and the o-
 “ bedience to their princes, your ancestors acquired
 “ what ye now enjoy: there is no stronger means to
 “ keep the goods acquired from a prince, than the same
 “ by which they were first purchased, which is still o-
 “ beying. Though by leagues, factions, and the con-
 “ founding of all true policy and order of government,
 “ man may imagine he can shun the judicatories of
 “ man; let none, how great soever, conceive he can
 “ save his wrongs unpunished from the almighty hand
 “ of God. Ye must not hereafter count authority, ho-
 “ nesty, and virtue, idle names; nor reckon that right,
 “ which ye may win or hold by dint of sword. For
 “ me, I will behave myself in my proceedings, as I
 “ must

“ must answer to God; and for you, my subjects, do
 “ so as ye shall answer to God first, and after to your
 “ prince whom God hath set over you. No man’s
 “ greatness shall appal me in doing right, nor the mean-
 “ ness of any make him so contemptible, that I shall
 “ not give ear to his grievance: for I will strive to do
 “ justice on oppressors, and support the innocent to my
 “ uttermost.”

Here he easily found the power which the presence of a prince hath over subjects: for having confirmed the minds of the parliament, a mutual oath passed between him and his subjects: the king swore, if any made war against Scotland, or went about to overthrow the ancient laws of the kingdom, to resist and invade him with all his power: the estates swore, if any by open rebellion should revolt or conspire against the king, or be found to be the authors of factions and novations, they should assist and side with the king with all their forces, after what manner he should command. A solemn act was made, that none of the subjects should bind up a league together.

The king, the more to assure the clergy unto him, swore to defend the liberties of the church, making an act, that all church lands unjustly detained from them, during the time of his captivity, should be restored unto them.

The body of the estates holding good for the king, MORDOCK duke of Albany, with his sons WALTER and ALEXANDER, were presently arrested and committed; as were likewise DUNCAN earl of Lenox, and ROBERT GRAHAM (a man that dared attempt those things which no honest man ever could think :) they were sent to Falkland, but the duke to Carlaverook. ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, with WILLIAM earl of Angus, the king’s sister’s son, GEORGE earl of March, and WALTER OGILBY were committed, but after set at liberty. ADAM HEPBURN of Hailes, THOMAS HAY of Yester, with others, were sent to the castle of St. Andrews. That same day the duke was committed, the king seized on his castles of Falkland in Fife, and Down in Monteith, out of which he removed the duchess to Tantallon in Lothian. JAMES the youngest

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est son of the duke, whom former carriage and harmless behaviour had exempted from all suspicion of treachery, after the committing of his father and friends (whether of a youthful insolency, or desperate rage, resolving to do and suffer all extremities, or that he was condemned) accompanied with a number of out-laws, and mountaineers, on the Holy-rood-day, called the invention of the cross, came to the town of Dumbarton, set it on fire, surprized there JOHN STUART of Dundonald surnamed the RED, uncle to the king, slew him with thirty others: after which cruelty, advising with fear and despair, he fled into Ireland, where he died. The wife of WALTER STUART his brother, with her two sons ANDREW and ALEXANDER, with ARTHUR a base-born, hastened with him, where they remained till the reign of king JAMES III.

The barbarous fierceness of JAMES highly incensed the king against his father and race, and diverted the current of his clemency: for when he thought by gentle incarcerations to have restrained their malice, now he finds that that deaf tyrant, the law, can only secure himself, and bring rest to his subjects. Whereupon the year following he calleth a parliament at Stirling, where the estates assembling, the duke, with his two sons, and father-in-law the earl of Lenox (accusations being engrossed, and articles exhibited against them out of the acts of former times, of what had been done unjustly, cruelly, or amiss, during the king's captivity) were presented, arraigned, and condemned: WALTER earl of Athole being judge, to whom were adjoined many noblemen and barons.

That same day on which their fatal sentence was pronounced, the two young men, WALTER STUART and ALEXANDER, sons to the duke, were taken forth to the hill which ariseth against the castle of Stirling, and had their heads cut off. The day following, MORDOCK duke of Albany, late governor, with DUNCAN LENOX earl of Lenox, was beheaded.

The deaths of these noblemen were so far from breeding any distaste in the common people, that out of their depraved disposition and envy against their betters, they flouted at their fall, reproached their insolencies, delighted

ed in their execution ; and as much without reason raised on them when they were dead, as they had flattered them being alive.

Whether by the wisdom of the king it hath fallen out, who caused abolish the indictment, being against persons so near unto him in blood, or bluntness of those times, which thought such clear evidences needed no records, the particulars of the attainder of these great men are swallowed up in dark oblivion. Moved at the imprisonment of his son, did MORDOCK with LENOX, hating him whom they had wronged, attempt against the king's person ; and that same very treason which afterwards had success, was it then between the plot and the execution surprized, and in the very head cut off ? The earl of Athole, a man whose desires were both extremely wicked and unbounded, was a great actor in this tragedy. Did the king, standing in fear of their extraordinary greatness, bend his eyes upon the disposition of the offenders, squaring their actions by the rule of their intentions, and weighing what, not how far they did offend ? for princes quickly free themselves from their very shadows in matter of jealousy of state. And they have great reason to prevent such crimes, which cannot be punished when they are committed ; nor should they expect to amend a mischief, when the criminals are become masters of their judges. People believe not that any conjure against a prince, till they find the treason to have taken effect, and distrust the plot, till they see him dead. But the death of such, who are suspected to be the authors of disorders in a commonwealth, spareth an infinite number of lives, and much civil blood when they are first surprized ; neither are too strict circumstances of law to be observed, when a small delay may abolish all observing of order and laws.

The duke, to raise his own reputation to the disadvantage of the king, with all secrecy of his intentions, had procured himself a vast authority with the nobles, by a semblance of liberality, wasting the patrimony of the crown, as remitting treasons, restoring again lands annexed to the crown. He had studied so to conciliate to him the minds of the commons, that the desire of a king did not much touch them, using such moderation
in

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in his proceedings, that his government seemed unto many, not only tolerable, but desirable.

He had essayed to draw the earl of Douglas, and had drawn the earl of March, to enter into a league with him; and these noblemen, then in the castle of St. Andrews, divided the nobility, and made them break their allegiance to the king. Upon which attempt, it seemeth that that act of this king's second parliament was made; "That no subjects should league themselves together."

The king esteemed all that government of ROBERT and MORDOCK to be an usurpation of the crown, and feared the like hereafter.

His son JAMES had burnt Dumbarton, and treacherously killed the king's uncle, which was not done without his knowlege, if not counsel.

Though he relieved the king of his captivity, he suffered him to remain very long a prisoner; neither did he practise his deliverance, till he perceived the whole states of the kingdom resolved to call him home, and was compelled by the injuries of his own children.

To exasperate new injuries by old rancours, his father ROBERT, spurred by ambition, had furnished to death the king's brother DAVID, in the castle of Falkland; to escape whose tyranny, the king, yet a child, was committed to the protection of stranger princes.

Whatever the particulars of their accusations have been, it is above the possibility of any governor, or man in eminent place and authority, so to carry himself, but a discontented prince, if he will set him to a trial, shall bring some one or other of his actions to whirl him within the compass of justice. Thus the imprecation of ROBERT III. took effect upon the race of ROBERT the governor: for after the death of the duke of ROTHESAY, he is said to have cursed him most deadly, praying, as he had slain his brother's son, and filled their house with blood; so God would punish him, his stock and posterity. There is not any wickedness, which beareth not its punishment and repentance at the last, if we can have patience to attend the last act of those tragedies played on this theatre of the world. By the attainder of the duke, the earldoms of Fife, Monteith,

Monteith, and Lenox, were devolved to the crown. The castle of Inch-Merin in Loch-Lomond, which had a while been kept good for JAMES, who fled into Ireland, was by JOHN MONTGOMERY and HUMPHREY CUNINGHAM brought to the obedience of the king.

When the lords and gentlemen who were in prisons, attending the king's pleasure, understood what necessary justice had been executed upon the duke and his sons, they were grievously perplexed; yet the king, like a wise physician, would take no more blood than might take away the disease and all further causes of faction. For within twelve months thereafter, he sets them all at liberty, and received them into his wonted favour, upon promise of their loyal demeanour and dutiful obedience in time to come. But being thus freely discharged, the conceit was taken, that MORDOCK's head, and his sons, with LENOX's, was only the aim, and that they were used but as a countenance of state to dazzle the eyes of the people.

The wars continuing between the English and the French, the one to keep what he was in possession of, the other to re-obtain what he had lost; CHARLES VII. a wise and victorious prince, knowing the friendship of Scotland to be of no small importance to any that would fight against the English, the flower and strength of the Scottish soldiers, which had followed the French wars being then blasted and spent, sendeth JOHN STUART of Darnley, marshal of a garrison of horsemen, with the earl of Douglas, as the French write, then marshal of France, to Scotland, to have a fresh supply of men of arms, and RENAULD of Charters archbishop of Rheims, who there had crowned his master, and was chancellor of France, to renew the ancient league between the French and Scots. But the main business about which the archbishop came, was the trafficking of a marriage between LEWIS the Dauphine, though then very young, with MARGARET daughter to king JAMES. This match the English had either neglected or contemned, which afterward they sued for. The renewing of the old league and amity between the two nations was easily condescended unto, it being but a witness

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witness to the world of their mutual kindness. The chief articles of which were;

The war or injury, moved or done by the Englishmen to one of the said nations, to be as common wrong to both.

If the Englishmen make war on the French nation, then the Scots, at the cost and charges of the French king, shall minister to them succours.

Likewise, if the Scots be molested by the English wars, the French nation, having their charges allowed, shall be to them aiders and assisters.

That none of both nations shall either contract or make peace with the realm of England, without the consent and agreement of the other.

The marriage being found commodious for both nations, was likewise with great contentment agreed upon, and concluded; fresh recruits of soldiers were levied, and dispatched with the ambassador to France.

The south and champain parts of Scotland brought under obedience, and a peaceful government, the king will have the remotest countries of his kingdom, even those blocked and barricaded by the snowy clifts of Grantsben, to acknowledge his justice. The wildness of the soil had made the inhabitants there more fierce than fierceness itself, and let them out to all unlawful riots and rapines. To restrain their insolent humours, and bring them within compass of civility, in the year 1426, he caused repair the castle of Inverness, situated in the uttermost borders of Murray, which by their incursions had been turned desolate. Hither some years after cometh he in person, and keepeth open court, that being near the evil he might have the better means to provide for, and consider it. But he seemed to have arrived in some territory of the Scythians, having known and found things, which none did, nor dared relate unto him: for he had learned that not many miles off, there were men, some of which had one thousand, some two thousand robbers at their call, who were accustomed to drive preys from the more civil neighbours and borders, pilling and spoiling, polluting and ravishing, without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane; but only following their ravenous and insolent humours. On the quieter sort they set tribute; others

others they compel to minister to them sustenance and necessities: the God, prince, law, which they obey, are their barbarous chieftains, among which he is thought the best who doth most transcend in villany.

The king seemed to give small faith to these relations, entertaining kindly, and feasting from all parts, all such who deigned to see him, mostly those who were the chiefs and principals of the families in these bounds; by whose means, all, whom innocency did guard, came freely to court; and many guilty, by fair promises and hopes of the king's clemency, presented themselves. Others, though most refractory, and unwilling at first, that they might not seem out of the fashion of their companions, and appear suspected, resorted thither; thinking these offices might be interpreted to proceed of good will and obedience, which were done of emulation. Forty of these leaders and chiefs, meeting at once, and being together within the inclosure of the castle walls, were surprized, and committed to close prisons. Some days after, two, whose wickedness was thoroughly known, ALEXANDER MACRORE, or MACRAREY, and JOHN MACARTURE, were hanged. JAMES CAMPBELL, for the murder of JOHN of the isles, renowned amongst his own, was beheaded. The rest, upon hope of further trial, were committed to prisons, of which, for example and terror to others, many were executed; the remains in peaceful manner sent home, the king having graciously exhorted them to a life, according to the law of God and man.

ALEXANDER of the isles, earl of Ross, being taken in this trap, was brought by the king to Perth, where he was accused of oppression, and many barbarous cruelties were proved against him; yet, such was the king's clemency, he was only some few days committed, and after lovely advice at the council-table, rather to obey his prince, than render himself chieftain of thievish troops, he was freely dismissed. But benefits oblige not ignoble minds, and mercy shown to a fierce and obstinate nature disgraceth the beauty of the clemency of a prince; for no sooner was he returned to his own territories, where interpreting imprisonment a dishonour and shame to a man of his power and qualities, and telling

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telling that a promise made by one imprisoned, by the judgment of lawyers themselves, was nothing worth, he gathered together a rabble of out-laws and mountaineers, came towards the town of Inverness, which peaceably he entered, and was courteously received; having before dispersed his men among the fens and hills towards the west, they so soon as night had brought the inhabitants to rest, spoiled them, and set their houses on fire. And because the castle was the place in which he had been surprized, he besieged it with a thousand lewd fellows practised in daily depredations and robberies.

At the noise of this cruelty, the gentlemen of the neighbouring shires, from all quarters, assemble themselves for the defence of their friends; the king listeth speedy preparations. At the approach of which, the Clans, CHATONS, and CAMERONS, with other thieving troops, dispersed themselves, and fled into their lurking-holes. ALEXANDER, abandoned of their forces, with so many as he could keep together, fled into Lochaber, from thence passed to the isles, deliberating to go to Ireland: but things answered not his expectation; for by his spy, finding that he was way-laid, and that numbers of people, a price being set upon his head, in all places laboured to surprize him; when he had long continued desolate and a vagabond, at last he began to intercede with his friends at court for mercy to him from the king. Sundry tempt the king's clemency; but he will not promise nor assure them of any favour, before ALEXANDER in person, as suppliant, render himself and his estate to his disposal. Thus finding no escape, and destitute of all help, he was emboldened to come privately to Edinburgh; there on Easter-day, wrapped in a mourning garment, and concealed in the drag of the multitude, the king being in the church of the Holy-wood at divine service, he fell prostrate at his knees, beseeching him for grace, which, at the request of the queen, and other assistants, he obtained. His life and private estate was granted him: but that he should do no more harm, and be reduced to a more modest behaviour; WILLIAM DOUGLAS earl of Angus was appointed to take him in custody, and that

that within the castle of Tantallon. His mother EUPHEME, daughter to WALTER LESLEY, sometime earl of Ross, a mannish implacable woman, who had solicited and raised her son to all that mischief, was committed to the island of St. Colm.

DONALD BALLOCH, cousin-german to ALEXANDER lord of the isles, a man of a haughty mind, resenting the king's proceedings against his cousin, raised a great number of out-laws and robbers, and invaded Lochaber, omitting no cruelty, which enraged savages use to commit. ALEXANDER STUART, earl of Mar, and ALAN earl of Caithness, with such numbers of people, as they could in haste raise, came to defend the country against the incursions of these highlandmen, and rencountered them at Innerlochy; where, by an over-weening opinion of victory, which easily deceiveth young soldiers, imagining they went to fight with untrained, raw thieves, who would never abide their march, and misregard of martial discipline, ALAN was slain, and ALEXANDER earl of Mar discomfited; and BALLOCH, insolent of his victory, with a great booty, returned to the isles. The king at the rumour of this disaster, in all celerity with a great army, came to Dunstaffage, intending from that to pass to the isles; which when the Clans and other chief men understood, turning their defence into submission, they came in haste to Dunstaffage, and humbly begged pardon, laying the fault of the whole rebellion on BALLOCH, and some adventuring thieves, many of which BALLOCH had pressed to that mischief against their minds: the king finding extreme rigour at that time a cure unseasonable, taking their oath of fidelity, and that they should pursue BALLOCH and his followers, accepted them into his favour, only transporting some of the most factious along with him. They in few days, to seem worthy of the king's mercy, surprized a great number of them, three hundred of which died all on gibbets. And punishment had taken away a much greater number, had he not considered, that there is no man so miserable, who is not a member of the state.

The king, left hope of impunity might cherish rebellion, resolves to find BALLOCH, and hearing he

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lurked in Ireland, in the bounds of one named ODO, he sends to have him delivered. ODO, either out of fear of the king's displeasure, or hope of rewards, seizeth on him; and suspecting if he sent him alive, he might by power or stratagem slight his convoy, chopped off his head, and sent it to king JAMES, then remaining at Stirling.

The Clans CHATTONS and CAMERONS, sparing the magistrate's sword, yet executing justice by mutual slaughters, one of another, had rendered the north very peaceable of that scum of thieves: some chieftains were shut up in fast prisons, among which, two most eminent in all mischiefs, hating mortally others, and hated of all good men, ANGUS DUFF of Strathnavern, and ANGUS MURRAY: these the king, out of policy of state, let out, and set at liberty, of purpose that they might be thrust forward into a greater danger. Returning to their wild countries, DUFF, nothing respecting the king's clemency, accompanied with many thieves and robbers, driveth a great prey of cattle and other spoils from the confines of Murray and Caithness; which to recover, ANGUS MURRAY, that he might attempt something worthy of his life and liberty, followeth with a great power of like soldiers; having now authority to justify his revenge on a guilty enemy, he overtaketh DUFF near unto Strathnavern. There strongly is it fought, neither of the parties being inferior to other in number, cruelty, or despair. This conflict continued so fierce and eager, that of both sides there remained scarce twelve persons alive, and those so wounded, that justice had not whom to pursue. An overthrow delightful and commodious for the peace and quiet of all the honest and virtuous subjects of these countries.

These many executions nothing appalled one MACDONALD born in Ross, a thief fleshed in all murders, mischievous without mercy, equally greedy of blood and spoil, who by robberies had acquired great riches. Amongst other cruelties; he is said to have nailed horse shoes to the soles of a widow, because in her grief she had sworn in haste to report his wickedness to the king. Being brought to Perth by men of his own qualities, with twelve of his associates, the king caused them in
like

like manner to be shod as they had served the woman; and when three days, for a spectacle to the people, they had been hurried along the town, his companions were gibbeted, and he made shorter by the head.

Gross enormities cut away, factions repressed, the king maketh a progress throughout all the parts of his realm, doing justice upon all sorts of malefactors; neither did pardons granted by the late governor avail, it being alleged, that they expired by his death; and though small faults might have been passed by such remissions, yet horrible and crying crimes were not within the compass of such authority. While he thus continues in the administration of justice, the favourable eye of providence looked upon him, and in the year 1430, in the month of October, queen JANE is delivered of two sons at Holy-rood-house, ALEXANDER and JAMES: the one deceased in his infancy, the other succeeded to his father, and was king. To heighten the joy of his people, and diffuse it universally, many prisoners are set at liberty; amongst which were ARCHBOLD earl of Douglas, and Sir GILBERT KENNEDY, the king's sister's son; the earl had been kept in Lochlevin, the other in Stirling. They had been committed rather upon suspicion of the times, than men; having spoken too freely against the present government: ALEXANDER earl of Ross was also set at liberty. And that the king intended a real and sincere reconciliation, the earl of Douglas was made parent of his children at the font. At this solemnity fifty knights were dubbed, the first of which was WILLIAM DOUGLAS, son to the earl, who after succeeded to his father in the earldom of Douglas.

A sweet calm diffusing itself through every corner of the realm, the king, imagining the rest of his reign to be but the enjoying of a crown, sets his thoughts wholly to the works of peace. Many unreasonable customs, which were become to the vulgar laws, had many years continued in his kingdom; these he will either have abolished or amended. To this effect he selecteth persons commended for wisdom, gravity, and uprightness of life through his realm, to pry into all abuses, hear and determine all sorts of quarrels and suits, if any were

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brought unto them, whereof the ordinary judges, either for fear dared not, or power of stronger could not, or for hatred or favour would not give any perfect judgment. To them he gave full authority to make inquisition of the breach of penal statutes. Some hereby were punished by fines, others in their lives. He took away the deceit which had been occasioned by variety of measures. For this end certain iron measures were appointed to be made, unto which the rest should be conform and like. Before his reign not only in every town and shire, but in every mannor and house, different measures were current; which abuse he abolished by parliament.

The roughness of the times, and perpetual wars and troubles of his ancestors, had near taken away the arts and handicrafts, and turned the sciences contemptible, especially since the reign of ALEXANDER III. the commons, by the manifold changes and miseries of the age, affecting barbarity; the nobles making arms their whole study and care. To the further advancement of the commonwealth, and that his subjects might have occasion to avoid sloth and idleness, the king from the neighbour continent, and from England, drew unto him the best artisans and manufactors, whom either large privileges or money could entice or oblige. Of which such a fair number came, and were so graciously received, that they forgot their native countries, and here made their perpetual abode. And what till this day Scotland enjoyeth of them, owe all their beginning to these times. Schools of learning were founded, to which great liberties and privileges were granted; the king well knowing that whatever is excellent in any estate, from them had beginning and seed, and that there is no better means to sweeten and tame the wild nature of men, than to busy their spirits with peaceful and sedentary exercises; rude and untrained minds being inclinable of themselves to tumult and sedition. To make a necessity of learning, he made an act, that none of the nobility should succeed to their ancestors heritage, except they had some taste of the civil law, or practice of the country-customs; but this after was by them abolished.

Many

Many famous men in all sciences from the noblest universities in christendom came hither, as to the sanctuary of the muses, where often the king himself in person graced their lessons; and when great matters did not withdraw him, was umpire to their harmless conflicts. Being himself religious, he advanced men learned and of good life to eminent places in the church; and that the best deservers might be discerned, he distinguished the learned into degrees, making a law, that none should enjoy the room of a canon in any cathedral church, unless he were bachelor in divinity, or at least of the canon law. Though he challenged king DAVID, and named him a grievous saint to the crown, for dilapidating so much rent in extraordinary donations to the church; yet with great cost and magnificence he founded the convent of Charters in Perth, and bestowed fair revenues upon it. The excellent skill which he had in music, and delight in poetry, made him affect choristers; and he was the first that erected in his own chapels, and the cathedral churches of Scotland, organs; being not much known before his reign to the nation.

Peace hath its own dangers no less than wars; yea, often such states as have increased their dominions, and become mighty by wars, have found their ruin in a luxurious peace; men by a voluptuous life becoming less sensible of true honour. The court, and by that example the country, was become too soft and delicate, superfluous in all delights and pleasures. Masques, banqueting, gorgeous apparel, revelling, were not only licensed, but studied and admired: nothing did please which was not strange and far brought; charity began to be restrained, public magnificence falling into private riot. What was wont to entertain whole families, and a train of goodly men, was now spent in dressing of some little rooms, and the womanish decking of the persons of some few Hermaphrodites.

To these the wise king had a while given way, knowing that delicate soft times were more easy to be governed, and a people given to mild arts and a sweet condition of life, than rough and barbarous, so they turned not altogether womanized; and that it was an

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easy matter to bring them back again to their old posture. At these abuses some of the severer sort of the clergy began to carp; yet could they not challenge the prince, who in the entertainment of his own person, scarce exceeded the degree of any private man, yea was often under the pomp and majesty of a king. But the blemish of all that excess was laid on the English, who by the queen, their country-woman, with new guises daily resorted hither, and turned new-fangle the court. The king not only listened to their complaints, but called a parliament to satisfy their humours. Here HENRY WARDLAW, bishop of St. Andrews, highly aggravating the abuses and superfluities of court and country, all disorders were pried into, and statutes made against them. They abolished riots of all sorts of pearl (many rivers in Scotland affording them, not only for use, but for excess;) only women were permitted to wear a small carkanet of them about their necks. Costly furs and ermines were wholly forbidden, together with the abuse of gold and silver lace. Penalties were not only imposed upon the transgressors, but on workmen which should make or sell them. Excessive expence in banqueting was restrained, and dainties banished from the tables of epicures, with jesters and buffoons. In this year 1430, the first of June, was a terrible eclipse of the sun, at three of the clock afternoon, the day turning black for the space of an half-hour, as though it had been night: therefore it was after called by the commons *the black hour*.

The last and greatest matter which busied the king's thoughts, was, the encreasing of his revenues, and bringing back the demesnes of the crown: a work no less dangerous, than deep and difficile, and which at last procured him greatest hatred. For till then smothered malice did never burst forth into open flames. And though this diligence of the king concerned much the public weal; yet such as were interested, by rendering what they had long possessed, though without all reason, esteemed themselves highly wronged. The patrimony of the crown had been wasted and given away by the two governors, to keep themselves popular, and shun the envy of a factious nobility. Thus the king

king had neither in magnificence to maintain himself, nor to bestow upon his friends or strangers.

He had advisedly perused all evidences and charters belonging to the crown: hereupon he recalls all such lands as had been either alienated from it, or wrongfully usurped. Together what was wont to be idly given away, as forfeitures, escheats and wards, were restrained to the crown and kept to the king himself.

There remained upon considerations of increasing the demesnes of the crown, the lands of the earl of March, whose father had rebelled against the king's father ROBERT; though faults be personal and not hereditary, and the heirs of ancient houses hold little of their last possessors, but of their predecessors: those the king seized on. The earl proved by good evidences and writings brought forth, that his father had been pardoned for that fault by the regents of the kingdom. He was answered again, that it was not in the regents power to pardon an offence against the state, and that it was expressly provided by the laws in crimes of lese-majesty, that children should undergo punishment for their father's transgressions, to the end that being thus heirs to their father's rashness, as they are to their goods and lands, they should not at any time, with vast ambition in the haughty pride of their own power, plot or practise, to shake and tear the public peace of the prince and country.

Thus was the remission by the parliament declared void, and earl GEORGE himself committed to the castle of Edinburgh. WILLIAM earl of Angus, warden of the middle march, WILLIAM CREIGHTON chancellor, Sir ADAM HEPBURN of Hailes, immediately received the castle of Dumbar, the keeping of which was given to Sir ADAM HEPBURN.

The king not long after set earl GEORGE at liberty, and to save him from the like dangers, which were wont to befall his predecessors (to fly into England for every small cross, and light displeasure at court) he bestowed on him, as it were in exchange, for these lands in the Merse, the earldom of Buchan in the north, with a yearly pension to be paid out of the earldom of March, setting Tay and Forth betwixt him and his too kind friends

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of England. Buchan had slain to the king by the decease of JOHN, who was son to ROBERT the governor and earl of Buchan. He was slain at Vernueil in France, with the marshal DOUGLAS, and left no lawful children after him to succeed. The earldom of Mar was incorporated also to the demesne royal by the decease of ALEXANDER STUART earl of Mar, who was natural son to ALEXANDER STUART, who was the son of ROBERT II. He was a man of singular prowess, and in his youth followed the wars under PHILIP duke of Burgundy; he married JANE, daughter to the earl of Holland, and had greatly obliged his country by transporting stallions and mares hither out of Hungary, the stock of which continued long after to his great commendation and the commodity of the kingdom.

The earldom of Strathern was appropriated also to the crown by the decease of DAVID STUART earl of Strathern, uncle to the king, who having but one only daughter (who was married to PATRICK GRAHAM, a younger brother of the lord GRAHAM) the earldom being entailed to the masculine line, was devolved again to the crown. Thus did king JAMES succeed to three brothers who were sons to ROBERT II.

All good men with these proceedings of the king were well pleased; for if princes could keep their own, and that which justly belongeth unto them, they could not be urged to draw such extraordinary subsidies from the blood, sweat, and tears of their people. Yet this was the snell on which this prince perished: for many who were accustomed to be co-partners of such off-sallings, began to frown and repine at his actions: but none was so implacable as ROBERT GRAHAM, uncle and tutor to MILES GRAHAM, the son of EUPHEMIE daughter to DAVID earl of Strathern. For, plotting mischief, he began to rail, speak in high terms, associate himself with others of his own mind. Notwithstanding that the king anno 1428. in September, had bestowed on his nephew the lands and earldom of Monteith in compensation of that of Strathern, to which he pretended right, it being an appenage of the crown.

About this time, ambassadors came into Scotland from ERICUS king of Denmark, requiring of king JAMES the

the payment of a yearly tribute, which was due to him, as king of Norway, for the westeth isles, according to the covenant and agreement made by ALEXANDER III. king of Scotland, and his predecessor MAGNUS, the son of ACHO, then king of Norway. The ambassador was honourably received, and Sir WILLIAM CARRINGTON chancellor directed to go with him to Denmark, who there renewed the old league between the realms, settled questionable matters, and confirmed a perfect amity and steadfast peace.

Ambassadors came also from CHARLES the French king, not only to confirm the old amity between Scotland and France, but, for a better assurance thereof, to have MARGARET eldest daughter to king JAMES (already betrothed to LEWIS the Dauphin, who now was thirteen years of age) delivered to them, and conveyed to France. The English, foreknowing this alliance, had before sent the lord SCROOP, with other associates to him in embassy, to have the old league between the French and the Scots dissolved, and to join the king's daughter in marriage with HENRY VI. their king; promising, if the king would thereto agree, and join in league with them, that the town and castle of Berwick should be delivered to the power of the Scots, with all the lands lying between Tweed and the Red-Cross, which, when WILLIAM the conqueror granted Cumberland to the Scots, marched England and Scotland, and is now a fragment of a cross in Richmond-shire, near the Spittle on Stanmoor, about which is nothing but a wild desert.

Having audience, the lord SCROOP spake before the council to this purpose:

"I am directed hither by my master and his council, about a business, which concerneth the honour and profit of the two kingdoms, above any other which can be projected; and it is the establishing of a perpetual peace and concord between them, and happily, when it shall please the higher providence, their uniting in one body, under one prince, one day. How vain the attempting of this heretofore by arms hath proved, the world can but too well bear witness. The many proofs of either's valour against

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" themselves having been but a lavish effusion of hu-
 " man blood. The fairest way, the easiest means to make
 " hostilities cease and those ancient quarrels, was begun;
 " Sir, in your person, by the happy marriage of the
 " daughter of JOHN duke of Somerset, brother to king
 " HENRY IV, and son to the duke of Lancaster; and
 " prosperously hath continued these years past. Now
 " that peace may be lasting, and the affections and minds
 " of the two nations soldered together, our request is,
 " That this alliance may be again renewed, by the
 " marriage of your eldest daughter with our young
 " king; a most fitting and equal match. And in seek-
 " ing of her, we crave but our own; she is descended
 " of our royal stem, and if again she be ingrafted in that
 " stock out of which she sprang, it is but natural. And
 " you, my lords, where can ye find a match more ho-
 " nourable for both nations? Where can ye find a bet-
 " ter and more profitable friendship than ours? Are we
 " not a people inhabiting one island, have we not both
 " one language, are we not of like habit and fashion, of
 " like quality and condition of life, guarded and separa-
 " ted from the other world by the great depths of the
 " ocean? What evil customs have come into your country
 " by your last alliance with us? Nay, what civility,
 " policy, and laudable fashions, to the confusion of bar-
 " barity, have not followed hereupon? By this the glo-
 " ry of both realms will encrease, either being sufficient
 " not only to furnish necessities, but even all lawful
 " and moderate contentments of life to support others.
 " Besides that, an assurance of defence, strength and
 " power to invade, and ease in undergoing public
 " charges, will hereby follow.

" We are not ignorant that your lady is designed for
 " France; but how long, alas, will ye continue prodi-
 " gal of your blood for the French? What have ye ad-
 " vantaged yourselves by your alliance with France,
 " save that they engage your bodies in their wars, and
 " by conferring upon you unprofitable titles of honour,
 " take from you what is truly real? Ye are reserved as
 " a postern-gate, by which they may enter England,
 " diverting our forces, and transporting the stage of
 " the war upon our borders. Learn to forget your
 " French;

" French; or if ye be so enamoured with France, love
 " her after our manner; come take a share, be partak-
 " ers of our victories. Are not our forces, being joint-
 " ed, sufficient to overcome, nay bring in chains hither
 " that king of Bourges, and make ourselves masters
 " of his continent? France did never so much good
 " to Scotland in twenty years, as Scotland hath had
 " loss by England for the love and cause of France in
 " one. Are not your wounds at Vernueil and Crevant
 " yet bleeding, and all for the French? It hath been
 " your valour, and not the French, which heretofore
 " impeached our conquest and progress in France?
 " were it not for your swords, we had made ere now
 " the loftiest tops of the Alps or Pyrenees bear our trophies.
 " Ye say, ye reverence and cannot break your
 " old league and confederation with that kingdom:
 " Happy leagues, but wo to the keepers of them! Un-
 " happy Scotland, and too too honest; and the more
 " unhappy, for that thy honesty is the great cause of
 " thy mishaps! How long shall that old league (counted
 " amongst the fables of the ancient Paladines) make
 " you waste your lives, goods, and fortunes, and lose
 " your better friends? The genius of this isle seemeth to
 " cry unto us her nurselings to stay our cruel hands;
 " no longer to be her desolation, and the wrack one of
 " another, not to pass over and neglect these fair occasions
 " of mutual alliances, which will not only effectuate
 " truces and leagues amongst ourselves, but at last
 " bring a perpetual peace and union: for by interchange
 " of marriages, being united, this isle shall continue
 " stronger by entertaining peace and amity, than
 " by all these giant walls, rampiers of mountains, and
 " that huge ditch of seas, by which nature hath environed
 " and fortified her. Now, that ye may know
 " how dearly we esteem your friendship and alliance,
 " whereas others go to take from you, we will give
 " you Roxburgh and Berwick, and all the lands between
 " Tweed and Re-Crofs. If shadows prevail and
 " prove stronger with you than essential reason, and
 " that ye disesteem our offer, losing this good occasion;
 " we as neighbours and friends entreat you, that ye do
 " not uphold the French now in the sun-set of their for-
 " tunes,

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“tunes, and at their weakest; that ye would not should-
 “er this falling wall; but that ye would live quiet with-
 “in yourselves, keeping your own in a neutrality, re-
 “ceiving both sides, French and English, in the way of
 “friendship, neither side in the way of faction.”

The French ambassador spoke to this purpose. It
 “seemeth strange to me, that it should be question-
 “ed, and fall within the circle of deliberation; whe-
 “ther old, ever true, and assured friends; or old, ne-
 “ver trusted, and only enemies; should in an honour-
 “able suit be preferred: whether ye should stand to a
 “nation, which, in your greatest calamities; never a-
 “bandoned you; or embrace and be carried away with
 “one which hath ever sought your overthrow. The
 “English sue for your alliance and friendship, but it is
 “to make you leave your old confederates, and turn
 “the instruments of their ruin; and at last bring the
 “yoke of bondage upon yourselves. The French sue
 “for your friendship, and alliance, both to support
 “themselves, and hold servitude from you. Were not
 “your friendship with France, their power, policy, and
 “number had long ere these days overturned your re-
 “alm; or had France but shown herself an indifferent
 “arbitress of the blows between Scotland and England,
 “ye had scarce till now kept your name, less your li-
 “berties. Can ye prove so ungrateful as not to sup-
 “ply them who supported you? Can ye prove so in-
 “constant, after so many glorious wounds received in
 “the defence of France, as cowardly to turn your
 “backs upon her in her greatest need, defacing all
 “the traces of your former fame and glory? With
 “what countenances could ye look upon those Scots,
 “which at Vernueil and Crevant, in the bed of ho-
 “nour, left their lives, if unrevenged ye should at-
 “here and join yourselves to their enemies and kil-
 “lers? Now though ye would forsake the French,
 “at this time intangled in many difficulties, not regard-
 “ing their well-being, nor solicitous of their standing;
 “at least, be careful of your own.

“It cannot subsist with your well and safety, to suf-
 “fer a bordering nation, always at enmity with you,
 “to arise to that height and power by such an addition

“as

“ as is the kingdom of France. So soon as a state hath
 “ a neighbour strong enough and able to subdue it, it
 “ is no more to be esteemed a free estate. The Eng-
 “ lish are already become so potent, that no less than
 “ united forces of neighbour kingdoms will serve to
 “ stop the current of their fortune. Neglect not the
 “ certain love of the French, your often tried and an-
 “ cient friends; for the uncertain friendship, and, with-
 “ in a little time, forgotten alliances of the English your
 “ late reconciled enemies.

“ But it may be, after mutual marriages have one
 “ day joined your two kingdoms in one, they will seek
 “ no pre-eminency over your state, nor make thrall
 “ your kingdom; but be knit up with you in a perfect
 “ union. Do not small brooks lose their names when
 “ they commix their streams with mighty rivers; and
 “ are not rivers ingulfed, when they mingle their
 “ waters with the seas? Ye enjoy now a kind of mixed
 “ government, my lords, not living under absolute so-
 “ vereignty: your king proceedeth with you more by
 “ prayers and requests than by precepts and command-
 “ ments, and is rather your head than sovereign, as rul-
 “ ing a nation not conquered. But when ye shall be
 “ joined in a body with that kingdom which is absolute-
 “ ly royal and purely monarchical, having long suffer-
 “ ed the laws of a conqueror, ye shall find a change and
 “ a terrible transformation. The free managing of
 “ your own affairs shall be taken from you; laws, ma-
 “ gistracies, honours, shall depend on them; the wealth
 “ of your kingdom shall be transferred to theirs; which
 “ to obey and prostrate yourselves unto, if ye be found
 “ stubborn, ye shall suffer as a nation conquered, be re-
 “ dacted into a province, have deputies and governors
 “ set over you, garrisons in your strongest holds and
 “ castles, and by a calm of peace and union receive
 “ more fearful blows than ye could have suffered by
 “ any tempest of war, the miseries of a most lament-
 “ able servitude. What courtesy can ye expect at their
 “ hands, who, contrary to all divine and human laws,
 “ detained your king eighteen years prisoner, and be-
 “ sides an exorbitant ransom, as if he had been taken
 “ in a lawful war, did not without hostages send him
 “ home?

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“ home? We of France did never forsake you in your
 “ extremities, and we expect ye will assist us with all
 “ your power. They are in suit of your daughter, but
 “ it is long after she was assured unto us; in claiming
 “ her we claim but our own. This time past ye have
 “ only had the custody and education of her; yet, if
 “ they be so ambitious of your alliance, God hath blef-
 “ sed you with more than this. But it is not that which
 “ they sue for, it is to make you disclaim your friends,
 “ hate those which love you, and love them which hate
 “ you; and they are working upon you as upon a rude
 “ unpolished people. They offer to render you Ber-
 “ wick and Roxburgh: these gifts of enemies are to be
 “ feared; they know it is in their own power to re-ob-
 “ tain them when they please.

“ As for that point, wherein they would have you
 “ indifferent spectators of the blows, and that it shall
 “ be profitable for you not to meddle with this war. Ye
 “ are too near engaged; neither is there any thing can-
 “ be more damageable unto you: for, if ye be not of
 “ the party, ye may assure yourselves that your country
 “ shall remain a prey and reward to the conqueror,
 “ with content and applause of the vanquished, who is
 “ not bound to succour those who refused to assist and
 “ help him in his necessities. Prove firm and constant
 “ to us your first confederates; combine your forces
 “ with ours, and by the assistance of that supreme pro-
 “ vidence who pitieth at last the oppressed, we have fair
 “ certainties and true hopes; to cut so much work ab-
 “ road to the English, that they shall do little or no
 “ harm to you at home.”

The king and nobles, though it seemed more profit-
 able for the present time to follow the English, weigh-
 ing their offers, yet held it more advantageous, and sure
 for times to come, to follow the French. For if the
 English should make conquest of France, the conquest
 of Scotland would scarce be one month's work to their
 power: And for matter of alliance, God knows how
 little princes regard it, when occasion is offered to en-
 large their power and dominion. Thereupon they de-
 clare they will not break the ancient league and peace
 they have kept with France.

The

The English ambassadors, denied of their suit, went from prayers and requests to threatnings and menacings, and having friendship refused, denounced war; if the king gave his daughter to the French, that they, if they could, would hinder her passage by sea, having already a fleet prepared to this effect. And thus went away the English ambassadors.

The king was so far from being moved by these threatnings, that immediately he made ready his ships; and knowing more affairs to be brought to a good end and finished by the opportunity of occasions, than by force and power, with an able company of mariners and soldiers setteth his daughter to sea.

The English fleet had waited upon her, but, providence so appointing, she escaped them, and they encountered a fleet of Spaniards keeping their course towards the Netherlands. Them they beset with four-score vessels, commanding the ladies and all of their company to be delivered unto them: when they would not accept of friendly answers, they fall to handy blows, till in end, by loss of men and some ships, they understood their error. The lady MARGARET, thus without danger by the western seas, arrived at Rochel, having for her convoy a whole colony of gentlewomen, the histories say an hundred and forty went with her, all of noble parentage, of which train were her five sisters. From Rochel she held her progress to Tours; there with an extraordinary pomp and magnificence the 24 of June, anno 1436. was she married to the dauphin LEWIS.

The king to defray the charges raised by transporting and marriage of his daughter (the French seeking with her small or no dowry, these times preferring parentage and beauty before gold or riches, all that was craved being a supply of men of arms for their support against the English) laid a subsidy on his subjects; the one half of which being levied, and the people grudging and repining at the exacting of the other half (it being taken from men who lived hardly in a barren soil) he caused render a part of it again, and discharged the remainder.

At this time, by sea and land, the English, in revenge of the refusal of the offers of their ambassadors, began to use all hostility against the Scots. HENRY

PERCY

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PERCY of Northumberland invadeth the country with four thousand men: whether of his own bravery, abhorring ease and idleness, or that he had a commission so to do, is uncertain. With him came Sir HENRY CLYDESDALE, Sir JOHN OGLE, RICHARD PERCY, and many men of choice and worth. The frontier-garrisons invaded all places near unto them. To resist these incursions, WILLIAM DOUGLAS, earl of Angus, getteth charge; a man resembling his ancestors in all virtues either of war or peace, and the most eminent of his time: with him went ADAM HEPBURN of Hailes, ALEXANDER ELPHINSTON of Elphinston in Lothian, and ALEXANDER RAMSAY of Dalhousie, in all being four thousand strong. These, covetous of glory, besides the ancient quarrel of the two nations, having the particular emulations of their ancestors to be spurs unto them, make speedy journeys to have a proof of their virtue and courage. The lists of their meeting was Popperden, a place not far from Bramston, Rhodam, Roseden, Eglinham, all cheared with the stream of a small brook, named Brammish, which, arising out of the Cheviot, loseth its name in the Till, as the Till after many windings disgorgeth itself in the Tweed. ADAM HEPBURN and ALEXANDER ELPHINSTON led the vanguard of the Scots; Sir RICHARD PERCY, Sir JOHN OGLE, of the English; ALEXANDER RAMSAY and HENRY CLYDESDALE kept the rears. The two generals rode about the armies, remembering them of their ancient valour, the wrongs received, the justness of the quarrel, the glory of the victory, the shame of the overthrow. No sooner were they come within distance of joining, when the sound of the drums and trumpets was out-noised by the shouts of the assailants, who furiously encountered. The guns being about this time found out, were here first practised between the Scots and the English in an open field. When the fight with equal order had been long maintained on both sides, now the Scots, then the English yielding ground, many of the commanders at length began to fall, most of the English. Then was PERCY constrained to be at once commander and soldier, but ere he could be heard, some companies had turned their

their backs, among the thickest throngs of which breaking in, he found so great disorder, that neither by authority, intreaty, or force, he was able to stay their flying. Thus distracted between the two courses of honour and shame, he is hurried far from the place of fight, and victory declared herself altogether for the Scots; which was not so great in the execution, as in the death and captivity of some brave men. Of the Scots two hundred gentlemen and common soldiers were slain, among which was ALEXANDER ELPHINSTON, maintaining the battle with his sword, voice and wounds, and two other knights. Of the English died Sir HENRY CLYDESDALE, Sir JOHN OGLE, Sir RICHARD PERCY, with fifteen hundred gentlemen and common soldiers, of which forty were knights; four hundred were taken prisoners.

The king irritated by the way-laying of his daughter, the invading of his borders, and encouraged not a little by this little smile of fortune at Popperden, it being more sure to prevent than repel dangers, and with the same policy to defend, by which the enemies offend, resolveth by open war to invade England. He was also stirred unto this by his intelligence from his friends in France, who had brought greater matters to pass than in so short a time could have been expected: for concealed envy and old malice, burking out between RICHARD duke of York, and EDMOND duke of Somerset, PHILIP duke of Burgundy being entered in friendship with king CHARLES, the English began to be daily losers, and were put out of Paris and many towns of France. To this effect king JAMES having raised an army cometh to Roxburgh, a place fatal to him, and there besieged the castle of Marchmont, which is Roxburgh. It was valiantly defended by Sir RALPH GRAY: But when he was come so near the end of his labours, that they within the castle were driven to terms of agreement and conditions for giving up the fort, the queen in great haste cometh to the camp, representing to her husband a conspiracy, the greatness of the peril of which, if it were not speedily prevented, should endanger his estate, person, and race. Whether she had any inkling of the conspiracy, or contrived this to divert

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vert his forces from the assault, and farther harm of the English her friends and country-men, it is uncertain. The king who found his imagination wounded upon this point, after many doubtful resolutions and conflicts in his thoughts, raiseth the siege, disbandeth the army, and accompanied with some chosen bands of his most assured friends, returneth back, to provide for his own safety. A strange resolution, to disband an army for a tale of treason! Where could there be a greater safety for a king than in an army? Yet have conspiracies been often in camps; and in his own time, RICHARD earl of Cambridge, brother to EDWARD duke of York, HENRY lord SCROOP, with Sir THOMAS GRAY knight, at the instigation of the Dauphin of France, for a great sum of money, conspired to murder HENRY V. king of England, in the midst of his armies, if they had not been surprized. The king feared all, because he had not yet heard the names of any; but most the army, by reason of the nobility, many of which, who liked not the present form of government, were irritated against him. Were the conspiracy a rebellion, and in general by them all, they were ready in arms to maintain their factions; and if upon suspicion the king should attack any, being secretly joined in a league, he would hardly have meddled with their persons, without a civil war, which, in regard of his engagement with England, he endeavoured to spare. Perplexed, pensive, and sad, he cometh to Perth, stayeth in the convent of the Dominicans, named the Black-Friers, a place not far from the town-wall, endeavouring so secretly as was possible to find out the conspiracy. But his close practising was not unknown to the conspirators, as that there was more peril to resolve than execute a treason, a distance of time between the plot and execution discovering and overthrowing the enterprize. Hereupon they determine to hazard on the mischief, before trial or remedy could be thought upon.

The conspirators were ROBERT GRAHAM, uncle and tutor to MILES GRAHAM, ROBERT STUART nephew to WALTER earl of Athole, and one of the king's sworn domestics: but he who gave
motion

motion to all, was the earl of Athole himself, the king's father's brother, whose quarrel was no less than a pretended title and claim to the crown; which he formed and alleged thus. His brother DAVID and he were procreated by king ROBERT II. on his first wife EUPHEMIE ROSS, daughter to the earl of Ross, and therefore ought and should have been preferred to the succession of the crown, before king JOHN, named ROBERT, and all the race of ELIZABETH MOOR, who was but his second wife, and next them, but heirs to king ROBERT II. They were the eldest sons of king ROBERT after he was king, JOHN and ROBERT being born when he was but in a private state, and earl of Strathern: for it would appear, that as a son, born after his father hath lost his kingdom, is not esteemed for the son of a king, so neither he that is born before the father be a king. These reasons he thought sufficient, the king taken away, to set him in the room of state: but considered not how sacred the name of king is to the Scots nation; how a crown once worn quite taketh away what defects soever; and that it was not easy to divest a king in present possession of a crown, who had his right from his father and grandfather, with the authority of a parliament approving his descent, and secluding all others; less came it in his thought, that those children are legitimate and lawful, which cannot be thrust back and rejected without troubling the common peace of the country, and opening a gate to foreign invasions, domestical disturbances, and all disorders, with an unsettled course of succession; the common error making the right or law.

ATHOLE animated by the oracle of a sooth-sayer of his Highland country, who had assured him he should be crowned in a solemn assembly before his death, never gave over his hopes of obtaining the crown: and being inferior and weak in power and faction to the other brothers, to compass his designs he betaketh himself to treacherous devices. It was not in his power to ruin so many at once: for mischief required there should be distance between so many bloody acts; therefore he layeth his course for the taking away of his kindred one after another at leisure: He soweth jealousies, en-
 certaineth

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retaineth discords, maintaineth factions amongst them: By his council **DAVID** duke of Rothsay, the king's eldest brother, was furnished in the tower of Falkland: neither had **JAMES**, then a child, escaped his treachery, if far off in England he had not been preserved. He persuaded the earl of Fife, that, making out of the way the king his brother, he should put the crown on his own head: he trafficked the return of king **JAMES**; and, he being come, he plotted the overthrow of duke **MORDOCK**, by fit instruments for such a business, proving the crimes laid against him in the attainder, and he himself sat judge against him and his children. Thus stirring one of the kinsmen against another, he so enfeebled the race of **ELIZABETH MOOR**, that of a numerous offspring there only remained **JAMES** and his son, a child not yet six years of age, upon whose sepulchres building his designs, with a small alteration of the state, he thought it an easy step to the crown.

ROBERT GRAHAM had been long imprisoned, and at last released; but being a man implacable once offended, and cruel, whom neither benefits could oblige, nor dangers make wise, an enemy to peace, factious and ambitious alike, by many wicked plots afterwards, and crimes against the laws of the country, driven to an out-lawry, and to live as banished, he had ever a male-talent against the king since the adjudging of the earldom of Strathern from his nephew **MILES**.

ROBERT STUART was very familiar with the king, and his access to his chamber and person advanced the enterprize: being a riotous young man, gaping after great matters, neither respecting faith nor shame, and daring to attempt any thing for the accomplishing of his own foolish hopes, and his grand-father's aims and ambition. These having associated unto them the most audacious, whom either fear of punishments for their misdeeds, or hopes of preferment by a change of the government would plunge into any enterprize; in the month of February, so secretly as was possible, assembled together, where the earl spake to this sense unto them.

" These engagements which every one of you have
 " to another, and which I have to every one of you,
 " founded

“ founded on the strongest grounds of consanguinity,
“ friendship, interest, of committed and received wrongs,
“ move me freely here to reveal my secret drifts, and
“ discover the depths of my hidden purposes and coun-
“ sels. The strange tragedies which in the state and
“ government have been acted, since the coming of
“ this Englishman to the crown, are to none of you un-
“ known : MORDOCK with his children have been
“ beheaded ; the earl of Lenox his father-in-law had
“ that same end ; the nobility repine at the govern-
“ ment of their king ; the king is in jealousy of his
“ nobles ; the commons are in the way of rebellion.
“ These all have been the effects of my far-mining po-
“ licies. And hitherto they have fallen forth as for-
“ tunately as they were ingeniously plotted. For what
“ more ingenious and cunning stratagem could be pro-
“ jected, to decline the rank growth of these usurpers,
“ than to take them away by handles made of their
“ own timber ? And, if there was any wrong in such
“ proceedings, in small matters wrong must be done,
“ that justice and equity may be performed in great.
“ My fear was, and yet is, that the taking down of the
“ scaffold of MORDOCK should be the putting up of ours.
“ Crowns suffer no corrivals ; the world knows, and
“ he himself is conscious to it, that the right and title
“ to the crown, by descent of blood from ROBERT II.
“ my father, was in the person of DAVID my brother,
“ and is justly claimed now by me and our nephew.
“ As for an act of parliament confirming the right of
“ that other race, and for oaths of allegiance, no parlia-
“ mentary authority can take away justice, and the
“ law of God. Neither is an oath to be observed, when,
“ it tendeth to the suppression of truth and right : And
“ though for a time such acts and oaths have prevailed,
“ our designs having good success, we shall have a par-
“ liament approving our right, abolishing their preten-
“ sions, and declaring them usurpers. This one man
“ and a child taken away, if we can give the blow,
“ the kingdom must obey the lawful successor ; against
“ whom what subject will revolt, or who dare take arms ?
“ And here is more fear than danger. But think there
“ were ; the only remedy of imminent dangers is new
“ dangers.

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“ dangers. It was simplicity in him to think by small
 “ benefits that old injuries are abolished and forgot, and
 “ that I should take patiently the title of earl, when
 “ I should have been king myself. By his tyrani-
 “ zing justice, if he be not hated, he is not beloved,
 “ but become terrible to his people, who now through
 “ their poverty and grievances affect a novation, and
 “ obey him not out of any affection, but through neces-
 “ sity and fear; and now he also feareth, that some do
 “ that to him which he hath deserved.

“ Let us resolve his doubts; our ends are honour and
 “ revenge, our wills against him all alike and one. The
 “ heavens seem to conspire with us, having brought
 “ him to disband his army, and render himself in the
 “ wished place of our attempts; and let us rather fol-
 “ low them and fortune, which favours great actions,
 “ than virtue that preacheth cowardly patience; re-
 “ membring how fair glosses of valour for the most part
 “ have been cast on the foulest deeds, and the mightiest
 “ families have from them derived their honours, shame
 “ seldom or never following victory, however it be at-
 “ chieved and purchased. That sovereignty at the
 “ first was but a violent usurpation of the stronger over
 “ the weaker. How great enterprizes must begin with
 “ danger, but end with rewards, that death should ra-
 “ ther be prevented than expected, and that it is more
 “ honourable to die, than prolong a life in misery,
 “ wandering in the scorn of other mens pride. Be re-
 “ solute in our plot, put the enterprize in execution.
 “ Hasten is the spirit of actions of danger. The worst
 “ that can befall us is, since we cannot subsist he being
 “ alive, that he be taken away, whilst we run a hazard
 “ of death, which happeneth to all men alike, with
 “ only the difference of fame or oblivion with posterity,
 “ which ariseth of an evil action, as well as of a good,
 “ if the action and attempt be great. But let us not
 “ spend the time of execution in deliberation.”

Not long after, when they had pondered and digested
 the design, GRAHAM and STUART, with their ac-
 complices, guided by resolution, and guarded by the
 darkness of the night, came to the Black-Friers of Perth,
 and having the way made open unto them, entered the
 gallery

gallery before the king's chamber door, where they attended some of their confederates, who should have stopt away the bar, by which means they might enter the chamber: but before their coming fortune casteth the occasion in their hands.

For WALTER STRATON, one of the king's cup-bearers, came forth of the chamber, and finding armed men rushing rudely to force their entry, terrified with the boldness of the fact, with a high voice gave the alarm of treason to his master. While they are working his death, a maid of honour, of the name of DOUGLAS, got to the door, and essayed to shut it; but, for that the bar was now away which should have made it fast, she thrust her arm in the place where it should have passed; but, that easily broken, the conspirators rush into the chamber, and slaying all such of the waiters as made defence (amongst which was PATRICK DUNBAR, brother to GEORGE sometime earl of March) they at last struck down the king; whom whilst the queen by interposing her body sought to save, being hardly pulled from him, she received two wounds, and he with twenty eight, most towards the heart, was left dead.

Thus was JAMES I. who had so superabundantly deserved well of the commonwealth, murdered the 21st of February, in the end of the year 1436, the 44th of his age, when he had reigned 13 years.

This king was, for the proportion and shape of his body, of a middle stature, thick and square, rather somewhat mean than tall, not such as is counted for dainty, but for gracefulness and majesty. His hair was abourne, a colour between white and red. He was of so strong and vigorous a constitution, that he was able to endure all extraordinary extremities both of travel and want; and surpassed for agility, and nimbleness in any exercise, his companions. He was of so sharp and pregnant a wit, that there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or any shadow of the liberal arts did appear, that he had not applied his mind unto; seeming rather born to letters than instructed. He wrote verses, both Latin and English, of which many are yet extant. He exercised all instruments of music, and equalled

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equalled the best professors thereof. He had studied all philosophy, but most that which concerns government; in which what a master he was, the order, which he established in such a confusion as he found in the state, doth witness, and many old laws commodiously renewed and amended, others for the public good established. He was a great observer of religious forms; easy for access, fair in speech and countenance, in behaviour kind, using sleep and meat to live, not for voluptuousness. He had good command over his passions, his desires never being above his reason, nor his hopes inferior to his desires. Though he was much obliged to the gifts of nature, yet was he more to his good education and training in England. Scarce had he passed the ninth year of his age, when he was committed to the sea to shun the treasons of his uncle, and was surprized at Flamborough-head in Holderness. Windsor castle kept him a prisoner, but by commandment of king HENRY he was so carefully instructed, that no prince could have been better bred in the schools of Europe. What his valour was, the wars of France bear witness: for accompanying the king of England there, he laid siege to the town of Direx, and with such violence and valour, saith the English history, assaulted it for the space of six weeks, that with main strength he compelled it to be rendered into his hands, and gave it to king HENRY. That commendation which was given him by that same king of England, being recorded by their writers, proved prophetically true of him: for the king remembering him of his benefits received, and promising him greater, with free liberty to return to his own country, if he could cause the Scots, who were adherent to the Dauphin of France, to return to their native soil, and leave him: To this he answered, *He was a prisoner, had no possession of his realm; that he was neither sworn to his subjects, nor they by any oath of allegiance bound to him, and though he were bound to them, and they to follow his commandment, he would foresee whether it were to him honourable, and to his realm honest, to leave their old friend of France in his extreme necessity without aid or comfort.* With this answer, though the king was not content, when JAMES went out of his presence, he is recorded

to have said, *Happy shall they be which shall be subjects to a king endowed with such wisdom of so tender years of age.* His severity in justice was traduced by some under terms of cruelty; but considering the disorders of his country, by the fierce nature of the people over whom he ruled, who by often rebellions did not only exasperate him to some severity, but even constrain him to keep them in awe, his rigour was rather an effect of necessity than of his natural disposition. No prince did more reverently entertain peace at home amongst his subjects, nor more willingly conclude the same amongst strangers. There is no prince more cruel than he, who by a facility and evil-measured pity, suffers robberies, rapes, murders, and all sort of oppression and abuses to overturn his country, in which a whole state is interested, when the strictest justice toucheth but some particular persons. By him abuses were reformed, defects repaired, sedition and discord was put from the nobles, equity and industry restored to the country, every man had a certainty of enjoying his own with security. Into all men was either infused a will to do well, or a necessity of so doing imposed upon them, virtuous actions being honoured, crimes punished. The mean man did respect the great, not fear him; the great man did precede the mean, not condemn him; favour was mastered by equity, ambition by virtue: for the excellent prince by doing well himself, had taught his subjects so to do.

He was one of the worthiest of all the kings of Scotland till his time: Of the former kings it might have been said, The nation made them kings, but this king made that people a nation. He left behind him one son and six daughters, king JAMES II. MARGARET wife to LEWIS XI. king of France, ELIZABETH duchess of Bretaign, JANE first of Angus, and then countess of Huntley, ELENORA married to SIGISMOND archduke of Austria, MARY wife to the lord of Campvere, and ANNABELLA. He was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth which he had founded, where the doublet in which he was slain was kept almost to our time as a relic, and with execration seen of the people, every man thinking himself interested in his wrong.

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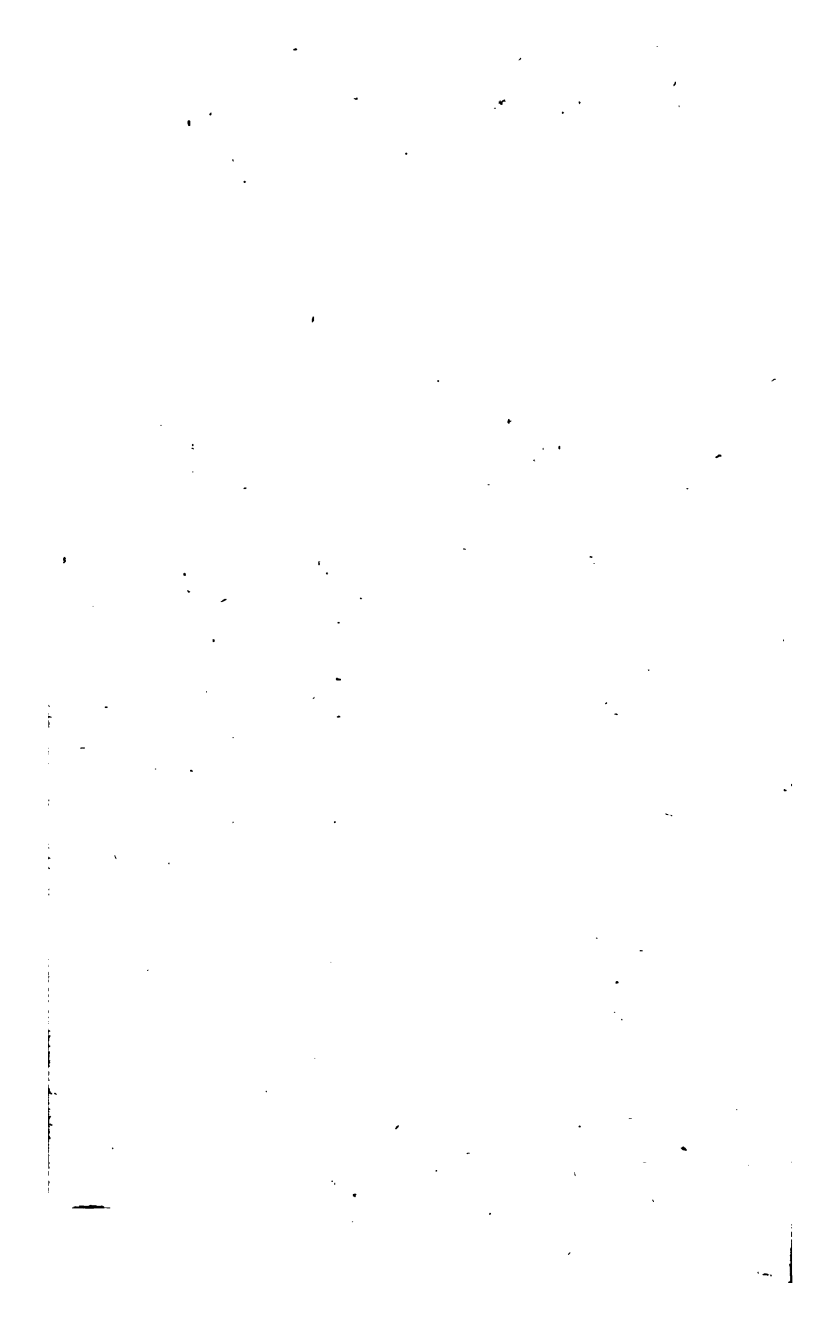
The rumour of his murder blazed abroad, it is incredible what weeping and sorrow was through all the country; for even by them, to whom his government was not pleasant, he was deplored, and the act thought execrable. The nobles, of their own accord and motion, from all parts of the kingdom, assembled and came to Edinburgh, and ere they consulted together, as if they had all one mind, directed troops of armed men through all the quarters of the kingdom, to apprehend the murderers, and produce them to justice. Such diligence was used, grief and anger working in their minds, that within the space of forty days all the conspirators were taken, and put to shameful deaths. The common sort, as CHRISTOPHER CLAWN, or COLHOUN, and others that were of the council in the conspiracy, having had art or part in the plot, were hanged on gibbets. The chief actors, that the commonwealth might publicly receive satisfaction, were made spectacles of justice by exquisite torments. The punishment of Athole was continued three days: on the first he was striped naked to his shirt, and by a crane fixed in a cart, often hoisted aloft, disjoined, and hanging shown to the people; and thus dragged along the great street of the town. On the second he was mounted on a pillar in the market-place, and crowned with a diadem of burning iron, with a placard bearing, *The king of all traitors*: Thus was his oracle accomplished. On the third he was laid naked along upon a scaffold, his belly was ript up, and his heart and bowels taken out and thrown into a fire flickering before his eyes. Lastly, his head was cut off, and fixed in the most eminent place of the town, and his body sent in quarters to the most populous cities of the kingdom to remain a trophy of justice.

His nephew ROBERT STUART was not altogether so rigorously handled, for that he did but consent to others wickedness, being only hanged and quartered.

But for that it was notorious ROBERT GRAHAM had embroiled his hands in the king's blood, a gallows being raised in a cart, he had his right-hand nailed to it, and as he was dragged along the street, executioners
with

with burning pincers, tore the most fleshy parts off his carcase. Being nipped, torn and flayed, his heart and entrails were thrown into a fire, his head exalted, and his quarters sent amongst the towns, to satisfy the wrath and sorrow of the injured people. Being asked during his torture, *How he dared put hand in his prince?* He made answer, *That having heaven and hell at his choice, he dared leap out of heaven and all the contentments thereof, into the flaming bottoms of hell:* An answer worthy such a traitor!

ÆNEAS SYLVIVS, then legate in Scotland for pope EUGENIUS IV. afterward pope himself, having seen this sudden and terrible revenge, being a witness of the execution, said, *He could not tell whether he should give them greater commendations that revenged the king's death, or brand them with sharper condemnation that distained themselves with so heinous a parricide.*



T H E H I S T O R Y O F T H E R E I G N of J A M E S I I

S C A R C E were the tears dried for the loss of the father, when the three estates of the kingdom meet, and, at Holy-rood-house, set the crown upon the head of the son, then a child, in the sixth year of his age. The government of the realm is trusted to Sir ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON of Callander; the custody of the king's person, with the castle of Edinburgh, are given to the chancellor Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON; men (for that they had been ever faithful to the father, without apparent vices, of no capacity to succeed, nor entertaining aspiring thoughts for a diadem) held worthy of these charges and dignities. Good men may secure themselves from crimes, but not from envy and calumnies; for men great in trust in public affairs are ever assaulted by the ambition of those who apprehend they are less in employment than they conceive they are in merit,

ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas grudged mightily that the state had bestowed those honours upon men far inferior to him, as though by this the many merits of his ancestors had been forgotten, and his own services neglected; they being ever accustomed in times of peace to be nearest the helm of the state, and when any danger of war blazed, sent abroad to encounter it. In a confusion of thoughts being diversly tossed, he retireth

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to his own castles, and after great resolves, proclaimeth that none of his vassals or tenants, especially within Annandale and Douglas-dale, parts remote from the more civil towns of the kingdom, should acknowledge the present government, or obey any precepts, licences, or proclamations, whereunto the governor's or chancellor's hands were set. If any question of law or contention arose amongst his friends, vassals, and tenants, he knew none fitter to be their judge, sentence all their wrongs, atone, and take up their quarrels, than himself. To discover to the world the weakness of the two rulers, and how men never so well qualified, small in means, and silly of power, were not for great places; he giveth way for the increasing of evil; overlooking many disorders of which he was the secret cause, especially the insolencies of vagabonding and ravaging borderers, men of purpose sent forth to spoil and rife the more quiet parts of the country, and to cut out work to these strengthless statesmen, as he named them. Thus, as overcome with sloth and pleasure, he passed some months amidst country contentments, expecting what effect time would bring forth of the equal authority of those two governors: for to fit minds equal in authority to so even a temper, that they should not have some motions of dissenting, he thought impossible. Neither did this conjecture fail him, the event being the only judge of opinions: for after this the governor began to jar with the chancellor for ingrossing wholly to himself from his partner the person of the king, as an honour which could not altogether be separated from his place, and which would give the greater authority to his proceedings; urging that the chancellor in many other matters, had usurped and taken upon him more than the parliament had granted. The chancellor was no better affected toward the governor; what the governor commanded to be done, he, one way or other, over-turned. The buildings of the one were by the other demolished: by common and continual brawlings thus living in turmoil, neither of them was obeyed, the country usurped a licentious liberty, every man doing what he thought best for his particular advantage and gain. The remote villages of the kingdom are left a prey to

to the lawless multitude : where their authority is scorned, they turn places of robbery ; where admitted, places of faction.

The queen all this time, after her ordinary custom, remained in the castle of Stirling. The divisions, partialities, and jealousies of the rulers, she taketh in an evil part, knowing usually they had a dangerous consequence. She had ever found the governor sincere and loyal in his proceedings ; against his council and will her son was kept from her by the chancellor, whom the great ones hated for possessing the king, for drawing to offices of best trust and benefit his own creatures, displacing such as he suspected to favour his partner in rule : and the commons loved him not, as managing every thing after his pleasure to their damage and loss. Transported by divers motions, she at last resolveth to change the game of state, and by a womanish conceit to beset a masculine policy. To effectuate her purpose, she came to Edinburgh, and by many fair and passionate speeches obtained of the chancellor to enter the castle, and delight herself some days with the company of her son. Then to countenance her plot, she giveth out a pilgrimage intended by her to the white kirk in Buchan : there will she make offerings for the health of the king, and perform her other vows. The honest statesman, who thought it disloyalty to distrust a queen, and a mother whom years had made reverend ; and impiety to hinder such religious intentions, giveth leave to herself, with some servants, to remain in the castle, and to transport her household-stuff and other necessities after what manner she pleased. In this time she persuadeth the king, wantonly set and delighting to be obsequious to her, his mother, to be handsomely couched in a trunk, as if he had been some fardel of her apparel, and conveyed by one of her trustiest servants upon a sumpter-horse to Leith : from whence he was put forward by water to Stirling, there received by the governor, and welcomed with great joy and laughter, at the manner of their so quaintly deceiving the grave man.

By this advantage the reins of rule were now taken by the governor ; the queen's trick is approved, his own proceedings are strengthened and confirmed. Proclamations

mations are made against the chancellor, and he charged to render the castle of Edinburgh to the king: which he refusing to do, by a great power raised by the governor of the country, and the queen's, and his own followers, he is besieged and blocked up within the castle.

The chancellor ready to fall in the danger, considering he had to do with too strong a party, implores the assistance of the earl of Dowglas: but the earl, as a matter he had long expected and earnestly wished might fall forth, refuseth to assist any of them, saying, it belonged not to the ancient nobility to succour these mushrooms, whose ambition with no less could be satiated, than the government of the whole realm. This disdainful answer procured a meeting of the two rulers, which concluded in the rendering of the castle to the governor, and a promise of true friendship between them, that they might not prove sport to the envious nobility. The governor, to shew the roundness of his intentions and his honesty, continueth the chancellor in his office; and restoreth him to the keeping of the castle of Edinburgh. After this agreement the earl of Douglas left this world at Restalrig, the year 1439. leaving behind him a son born of the earl of Crawford's daughter, named WILLIAM, who succeeded to his father's honours and ambition.

MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumbernauld and ALAN LAWTHER, upon this young earl's oath of allegiance to the crown of France, obtain to him from the French king the duchy of Turrain; which his father had enjoyed, and was at first given to ARCHIBALD his grand-father slain at Vernueil. This foreign dignity, with his titles at home, made the young man very haughty, and to forget moderation; discretion in youth seldom attending great fortunes. He surpassed far the king in his followers and train, being accustomed to have hundreds of horse-men attending him; most of which were robbers, and men living upon unlawful spoils, all under his protection. But, however thus he seemed to set forth his greatness, this seemed much to bewray a distrust, and that he rather travelled amongst

a people which hated him, than amongst his friends and men lovingly disposed.

JAMES STUART son to the lord of Lorn, about this time married the queen dowager, not so much out of love to her person or dowry, as out of ambition, by her means intending to reach the government of the state, and get into his custody the person of the king. And that it might rather seem the work of others out of conveniency, than any appetite of his own, he so insinuateth himself with the earl of Douglas, that the earl essayed to lay the first ground-work of his aims. The governor, who never wanted his own spies near the queen, at the first inkling of this novation, committed both him and his brother WILLIAM in the castle of Stirling. The queen, whether she followed her husband, or was restrained, uncertain, stayed with them, and now began to repent her of the former courtesies done to the governor; wishing her son had yet remained in the custody of the chancellor, who, not so displeased at their imprisonment, as he appeared in outward show, delighting in the errors of his partner, by ALEXANDER earl of Huntley trafficked and wrought their liberty. Thus insinuating himself in the queen's favour, he irritated her against the governor; whom yet outwardly he entertained with ceremonies of friendship, approving his sagacity in preventing a storm in the state before it brake forth. Here the governor found how that same key which can open a treasure can shut it up; for after this the queen prepared her son for a change. The governor carefully ministring justice at Perth, the chancellor one morning cometh to the park of Stirling where the king was hunting, by the providence of his mother more early raised for this sport. She bewailed the present estate of his court, "That he was thralled to the covetousness and pleasure of others, "living under the power of a man greedy of rule: "that a king of France is declared to be of full years "and major the fourteenth of his age. That a prince "should transfer his affection especially in tender years. "That by an escape he might enjoy a princely freedom, better know himself, and make his rulers relish "his authority. That three hours were sometimes of

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“ more importance than three days, and one hour of
 “ more than all the three. That he should take hold
 “ of the present occasion offered him.”

Prepared with such informations he is no sooner accosted by the chancellor, when, approving his motions, he posteth towards Edinburgh with him; received all the way as he went with many companies of the chancellor's friends and attendants. The governor finding the face of the court altered, by a king young in years and judgment, possessed by his mother, dissembling his interest, in a patient and calm manner cometh to Edinburgh. There, after long conference and mediation of friends in St. Giles's church, he meeteth the chancellor, and by the bishop of Murray's and Aberdeen's diligence, an agreement is between them concluded, which was, that the king should remain in the custody of the chancellor, and the governor should still enjoy his charge. Amongst these divisions of the rulers, the queen all this time handsomely kept some authority, affecting and entertaining sometimes the one of them, sometimes the other, as by turns they governed the king and state.

The many and great disorders in the country invited a parliament: The authority of magistrates was despised, no justice was administered in many places; few could keep their goods, or be assured of their lives, but by taking themselves to the servitude of one faction or other. Troubles arose in the west by the slaughter of Sir ALAN STUART lord Darnley, killed by Sir THOMAS BOYD; and by the revenge of his death, taken by Sir ALEXANDER STUART of Bolmet his brother, upon the BOYD. The highland islanders invade the territories adjacent to them, spoil and burn the Lenox, where JOHN COLQUHOUN of Lus is massacred. These cruelties and insolencies against all justice and authority, being avouched such to be, were held fit to be remedied, and courses laid down to obviate them. But WILLIAM earl of Douglas, permitting wickedness, and winking at mischief, often approving them for lawful and good policy, whilst he neither reformed them himself by his power, nor suffered the rulers to proceed against them by their authority, purchased to himself the name and reputation of a lawless and strong oppressor. The
 three

three estates assembled, complaints being given up against oppressors, most against him and his followers, as the source from which the miseries of the country sprang, he appeareth not, nor any to answer for him.

The parliament determineth to proceed by way of rigour against him: but to this the two rulers oppose, persuading them: "That fair speeches and entreaties, were a safer and easier way to draw unto them a young man, mighty in riches and power, arrogant by his many followers and vassals, than to give out a sentence against him before he were heard, and by threatenings stir his turbulent and ambitious thoughts, which, instead of making him calm, might turn his neutrality into a perfect rebellion; and his insolency into madness and despair. Neither, as the present state of the country stood, could he without civil blood be commanded and brought in, which by moderation might be effected. That verity enjoyed not always that privilege to be spoken in every place and time: it was good to keep up in silence matters concerning him, the speaking of which might produce any dangerous effect.

Upon this, letters in their name are sent unto him; "Remembering him of the splendor and glory of his ancestors, the place and dignity he possessed by them in parliament: that without his presence they neither would nor could proceed in great matters. If he apprehended any cause of let or stay by the offences and disorders committed by his attendants and followers, they would freely remit them, as accidents following the injury of the times, and his yet tender years, his greatest fault being his giving way, out of rashness and negligence, to the faults of others. That of himself they had conceived such singular hopes of great towardness and all virtues, if he would come and take a part with them, giving in his complaints and grievances, he should not only have full satisfaction, but be honoured with what place or charge in the government he liked best: by honouring them with his presence he should oblige not only his country infinitely, but particularly every one of them

"to

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“ to stand for him to the utmost of their powers and wishes.

This letter wrought powerfully upon the mind of the earl, by nature and years, desirous of glory and preferment, and believing easily that which was plausible to his hopes. His friends, who now began to promise to themselves new heavens, think upon great matters, and forecast to themselves by the change of their lord's fortune, a change of offices in the state, persuade him likewise to come to the parliament; and they divulged the certainty of his progress. The chancellor, when he understood he was upon his way, rode forth of Edinburgh to meet him, and by many obsequious compliments and friendly blandishments, allured and drew him to his castle of Creighton which was in his way: where some days he rested, and was honourably entertained. Amongst many healthful admonitions by way of counsel, he told him, “ That the greatness of a subject consisted in due obedience to his prince, whom he should acknowledge to be his lord and master. That by obedience, he would vindicate the name and families of the DOUGLASSES, not only from blame of treason, but from all suspicion of novations. That he would endeavour to execute justice more strictly than he had done in times past, not protect oppressors against law and equity, but suppress all insolencies against thieves and robbers, because cruelties and wrongs never stood secure before either God or man. That the estates of ancient houses were often maintained more by reputation of things done, than any other foundation, which a little disobedience to a prince might shake, if not altogether ruin. That it was fatal to all princes in their under-age, and the beginnings of their reigns, to have troubles and seditions, and be tormented by some of their subjects who studied novelties: but when these princes came to perfect years, they knew well to chastise those who troubled the government in their youth. That he would hereafter rather content himself with mediocrity, than expose himself as a mark to envy. That he would make a proof of his power, not in excess and riot, or pride of his ancient honours, but in bounty and religious charity towards his country.

"country-men. That he wished, as his house had long continued, it might, by following what he had spoken unto him, ever flourish."

The earl, of a good inclination, if flatterers and wicked company had been removed, took in good part his advertisements and counsel, thinking he spake as he thought; and, perhaps, then so he did; for he had not yet put on his double visage; and promised to repair what offences by youth, negligence, rashness, or rather indiscretion, had escaped him. Thus, with his brother DAVID, the chancellor accompanied him to Edinburgh.

He had not long there stayed, when the frequent meetings, many secret conferences of the governor and chancellor at their several houses, which often held the greatest part of the night, who were not wont to be so kind to others, bred a great jealousy and suspicion in some of the earl's friends, that some lurking mischief was a-plotting to intrap him; that small trust should be had in a reconciled enemy, and his many courtesies, and too exceeding favours, were to be suspected. Hereupon some freely counsel the earl to return home, and to leave off private meetings with them. Others intreat him not to enter the castle of Edinburgh at all, or if he should, to dismiss his brother DAVID, to keep themselves scattered, that they might not be inclosed in one net, as their father, upon his death-bed, had instructed and admonished them: for if any violent course were intended against them, men would not dare to put in act against one of them, which they would against both. DAVID, presaging some strange accident to follow this sudden kindness of the rulers, was meditating an escape. The earl took this counsel in evil part, saying, "Great families never wanted turbulent friends
 "to whom common confusions served ordinarily for
 "steps to enlarge their states, when peace sendeth
 "the most part of them home to live private men:
 "and they cared not what blame were laid on their
 "chiefs, so it stood with their own commodity.
 "That the pretence of his departure would be
 "worse than, the departure itself, and that he would
 "be obnoxious to worse surmises, and more miserable
 "mistak-

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"mistakings by going away, than if he had never appeared. That he preferred the approved trust of the chancellor, whose guest he had been, to all the objections of dangers they could imagine: which suspicions he requested them to suppress; for to suspect causlessly, instead of imagined wrong, returned a real injury; and being known, would be a mean to breed new jars, and break their begun friendship." Thus blind-folded by destiny, and accompanied with some of his dearest friends, amongst whom was Sir MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumbernauld, in solemn pomp, with his brother, he entered Edinburgh castle the 24th of November: the remainder, who were thrust back, with sad countenances and distrustful hearts, scattered themselves in the town.

The governor, that the envy might be divided and shared, and all seem to be done by an universal consent, with a ceremonious welcome, and such as hate and emulation could suffer to be tempered together, did meet him and guide him to the king: at whose table he was set to dine. Which favours turned the heart of the young earl so soft and relenting, that he wished he had sooner come to court, and challenged himself of his mistrustful thoughts, but more his suspicious friends, whose presence he could have desired to be witness against themselves. The counsel given him at Creighton-castle, by obsequiousness, he resolveth to thank: the king's benign aspect, and courtesies of the rulers, had advanced him to the highest degree of honour.

Amidst these entertainments, behold the instability of fortune! near the end of the banquet, the head of a bull, a sign of present death in these times, is set down before him: at which sudden spectacle he leapt from the table in horror and all aghast. But this doth little avail him, he hath no power; for he is seized upon by armed men, who rushing out of a cruel tiring-house, led him to the outer court of the castle, not regarding the plaints, cries, and tears of the young king, who pitifully mourned to see him manacled with cords: there, with his brother DAVID, and Sir MALCOLM FLEMING, his constant friend and co-partner of all his fortunes, he had his head and ambitious thoughts cut off.

off. With this great blow of state the parliament broke up, leaving grief, terror and astonishment in the hearts of all the people, who ever after hated the actors of this tragedy.

WILLIAM earl of Douglas and DAVID his brother taken away, the baron of Abercorn their uncle, succeeded to the earldom, by reason of his stature and corpulency named JAMES the gross: a man free of any vice or heroical virtue, whose years were not many after his fortune to be earl. He was father to seven sons, the eldest of which, by a dispensation from the pope, he married to BEATRICE, the only sister of his brother's son WILLIAM, named, the fair maid of Galloway, not so much in respect of her beauty as her fortunes; the lands not entailed in Galloway, Annandale, Balveny, and Ormond, falling from the heirs male to be her portion. This marriage was much blamed and cried out upon by the earl of Angus, Sir JOHN DOUGLAS of Dalkeith, and other gentlemen of that name, not, as they gave out, for the propinquity of blood, being between cousin-germans, but that so fair and easy a purchase was taken out of their arms. They had always followed the king, and procured prohibitions of the marriage: but these with spur-haste advanced the celebration of it, and upon a Friday, which the common people prognosticate to be ominous, and to have some sad event.

This earl, ambitious, factious, popular, subtle, vindicative, prompt in the execution of his enterprizes, liberal, and far from the dormouse humour of his father, began to think neither himself nor his kindred in safety, if the deaths of his brothers and cousins, wrought by the two rulers, remained unrevenge'd: and therefore, since openly, without troubling the common peace of the country, he could not; by secret and umbragious ways he laboureth to bring it to pass: procuring a far off a disobedience to their decrees, and contempt of their authority, by men in a great distance from him in place, blood, friendship and familiarity. These who after any fashion grudged, repined, and complained of the present form of government, or aggravated imaginary wrongs, are supported and protected by him: His houses turned places of refuge to distressed malecontents.

One

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One JOHN GORMACK of Athole (not without suspicion that he wrought by the motion and order of the earl, and understood his cabal) essayed with a great number of out-laws to hinder the execution of a malefactor, and take him by main force from the sheriff of Perth WILLIAM RUTHVEN: but he perished in the enterprize. PATRICK GALBRAITH in the castle of Dumbarton, for priority of command, killeth ROBERT SEMPLE; and to save his person, or justify his homicide, flyeth to the earl of Douglas, by whom he is protected, notwithstanding the many informations given in against him at court, and his citation to answer to justice.

The king, whose non-age was now near expired, began to relish the sweetness of government in his own person, and became tired of the long and awful tutelage of his jarring rulers; and the flower of his youth, seeming framed for great affairs, promised the fruit of a wise and happy reign. Finding it difficult to put men daily near unto him, long experienced, and greedy of rule, from high places, except by the entertaining a stronger and more powerful faction; he setteth his thoughts upon the earl of Douglas: small favours to him would be a great umbrage to the ambition of his tutors, bring them within the compass of answering to what might be objected to them concerning their service in the state. He would not sue the earl, but as occasion served, he gave many signs and often speeches, that he had not altogether withdrawn his love and favour from the ancient house of the DOUGLASSES, their past faults being by them acknowledged and recompensed with fidelity and obedience in times coming. The earl of Douglas, whose towardness and liberality had acquired him many friends at court, upon assured advertisement of his prince's good-will towards him, cometh to Stirling, and is no sooner presented upon his knees before the king in the church, when with all demonstrations of benevolence he is received into grace, pardoned, and not many days after admitted to be of the privy council. The king imparting to him his greatest affairs, sheweth he will follow them by his advice and counsel, honoureth him with the plausible name of cousin, and
enter-

entertaineth such familiarity with him, that all others give him the place.

The promotion and credit which the earl of Douglas in a short time acquired about the king, his faction daily increasing, moved the two rulers, by their moderation seeking to avoid disgrace, to leave the court. After which they were both removed from their offices, and their places and authority in council, with their whole friends and followers. They are upbraided with disorders, both in their private actions, and the manner of their government, and at last are summoned to answer before the king to such things as they should be legally accused of. The murmurs every where whispered amongst the people, warned and certified them, if they should appear and present themselves, of some sad and tragic act. Whereupon, with protestations of their innocency declining the time, appealing to the king in his majority, and when he should be of full years from these judges, their mortal enemies, then abusing absolute power, they suspend their appearing, declaring withal their readiness in every thing to obey the king.

This availeth them nothing; for, at a parliament holden in Stirling, articles being forged and urged against them, especially of peculate, as sale of crownlands, waste of the king's treasure, the laying of their hands upon the king's jewels, transporting lands to themselves and their friends, distributing offices and places of the crown and state, which should have been by authority of the council, as hunters divide a prey between themselves; dispensing with riots, and taking off the force and vigour from the laws of the kingdom: Thus, as betraying the administration of the realm into the hands of worthless and corrupted men, they are denounced rebels, their persons and estates proscribed. Charge is given to Sir JOHN FORRESTER of Corstorphin, and others the DOUGLASSES their adherents, to bring all their moveables to the use of the exchequer, demolish their houses, invade their friends with fire and sword, and all that sided with them. Thus the uncertain vicissitude of human accidents overturns often them who seem to be raised to the highest degree of honour.

honour. The castle of Barentoren is besieged, taken, thrown down, with other houses upon the governor's and chancellor's lands, and their farms and small villages are plundered and ransacked. In revenge of which the rulers waste the earl of Douglas's territories; the villages of Straw-Brock, Abercorn, and Blackness are burnt, with Corstorphin. The ravage begun, continueth with daily loss to both parties, and the overthrow of the commonwealth.

The earl wondereth, now having the king's authority, to find his enemies so strong, and hold so long out against him; he suspecteth they have secret support by some not well affected towards him. The most powerful and eminent of which he guesseth to be JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, and cousin-german to the king. He knew him jealous of his sudden favours at court, and that he had whispered amongst his friends, that he feared the ambition of the earl's unlimited heart was now exalted to such exorbitancy of height, that becoming top-heavy it would fall by its own weight, and turn up the root.

The earl will have this prelate less powerful to assist the rulers, or do harm unto him. To this effect he instigateth the earl of Crawford his ally, and ALEXANDER OGILBY of Innerquhartry, to invade the bishop's lands, and rouse his vassals in Fife, without order or declaration of wrongs done by him. The bishop, after the burning and spoiling of sundry of his farms, being weak by power to resist their violence and repair his losses, took him to his spiritual arms, and excommunicated the earl of Crawford. Though he made small account of this verbal thunder, yet did not this injustice long escape the revenging hand of God; who raiseth up ordinarily one oppressor to execute his justice against another.

ALEXANDER LINDSAY, son to the earl of Crawford, pretended a title to the bailiery of Aberbrothock, out of which he was kept by ALEXANDER OGILBY, whose title was equal to his, if not better. This enmity kindled to such a flame, that upon either side they assemble their friends in arms: the OGILBY calleth the lord HUNFREY; the LINDSAY, the HAMIL-

IONS to assist their rights: frequent meetings have been to calm matters, and reconcile them; and nothing agreed upon nor concluded, they resolve at last to decide the cause by their swords. The earl of Crawford then remaining at Dundee, advertised of the present danger of his friends, posteth in all haste to Aberbrothock, and cometh at the very shock of the skirmish, and when they were to enter the fight. Here intending by his wisdom to take up the quarrel, and presuming upon the respect due to his place and person, he rashly rusheth forwards before his companies to demand a parley of ALEXANDER OGILBY with his son: but ere he could be known, or was heard, he is encountered by a common soldier, who thrust him in the mouth with a spear, and prostrated him dead upon the ground. This sudden accident joined the parties, who fought with great courage and resolution. The victory after much blood inclined to the master of Crawford. ALEXANDER OGILBY fore wounded, was taken and brought to the castle of Finhaven where he died; the lord Huntley escaped by the swiftness of his horse. JOHN FORBES of Priligo, ALEXANDER BARCLAY of Gartley, ROBERT MAXWELL of Tealling, WILLIAM GORDON of Borrowfield, Sir JOHN OLIPHANT of Aberdargy, with others, fell on the OGILBY'S side. They fought on the 24th of January 1445.

Now by attending opportunities to increase public disorders, turn the times dangerous and troublesome, and confound the state, the earl of Douglas kept himself in the absolute government; by umbragious ways he nourished discontentments in all parts of the country, amongst the nobility, gentry, and commons of the realm. ALEXANDER earl of Crawford put to death JOHN LINTON at Dundee; ROBERT BOYD of Duchal, and ALEXANDER LYLE slew JAMES STUART of Auchinmantee; PATRICK HEPBURN of Hailes surprized the castle of Dunbar; ARCHIBALD DUNBAR, as if he would but change places with him, taketh the castle of Hailes, where he was besieged by the earl of Douglas, and with conditions of safety rendered it. Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON all this time kept the castle of Edinburgh, and when neither by intreaties

nor

nor power he could be induced to render it to the king, his castle of Creighton is plundered, a garrison placed in it, and the castle of Edinburgh by the earl of Douglas is besieged and blocked up. Nine months the assailers lie about it: but it proveth impregnable, and without loss of many subjects cannot be taken: about the end of which time, mens courage waxing colder, conditions are offered and received; which were, that the chancellor should be restored to grace, place, and whatsoever had been withheld from him by his enemies at court, an abolition and abrogation of all former discontentments should be granted; the besieged should pass out, bag and baggage free. At a parliament holden at Perth, the chancellor was purged by an assize of his peers, of what was laid against him, his lands and goods, seized upon by the king or DOUGLASES are decreed to be restored, as well to his followers as himself; he is established in his dignities and places of honour, notwithstanding all edicts, proclamations, and confiscations before, which were declared null; all matters past put in oblivion, as not done. This, considering the credit of the earl of Douglas, was thought very strange; but JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, whose respect and authority was great with the church-men, perfected this master-piece of state; and the earl of Douglas knew, though the chancellor was unbound, he had not yet escaped.

During these garboils in Scotland, MARGARET sister to king JAMES, and wife to the dauphin of France, LEWIS, died at Chalons in Champaign; a virtuous and worthy lady, beloved of all France, but most of CHARLES VII. her father-in-law, who for her respect matched her three sisters, who remained at his court, honourably; ELENORA with SIGISMOND arch-duke of Austria; ELIZABETH with the duke of Bretaign, and MARY with the earl of Campvere. She was buried in the great church of Chalons; but after when the dauphin came to be king, he caused transport and bury her in the Abby-church of Laon in Poitou. Many elegies were published upon her death, which are yet extant. Sir JAMES STUART the black knight, husband to the queen, at this time died also: he had turned

ed a voluntary exile, to shun the dangers and envy of the factions of the country, which he had incurred by his free speeches against the misgovernment and miseries of the time; and, as he was bound towards Flanders, by the FLEMINGS was taken upon the seas. The queen out-lived not long her daughter and husband; she was buried the fifteenth of July in the Charter-house of Perth, near her first husband king JAMES I. in the year 1446. She brought forth to the black knight of Lorn three sons, JOHN earl of Athole, JAMES earl of Buchan, ANDREW bishop of Murray.

The chancellor having recovered his honours and state, to the disadvantage of the earl of Douglas, though of good years, and tired with the troubles of a public life, yet findeth not any desired rest. A marriage being designed for the king with MARY, daughter of the duke of Guelders, by the instructions of CHARLES VII. the French king; but secretly by the procurement of the earl of Douglas, the chancellor, as a man grave, great in place, and experimented, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and NICOLAS OTTERBURN, is sent over the seas in embassy. This troublesome and unprofitable honour abroad is laid upon him, that he might be separate from the king, and suspended from opposing the private designs of the earl at home. This obstacle of his ambition removed, which had neither moderation nor limits, the earl may exclude such officers in state or court who were not agreeable to him, and substitute others of his creation after his pleasure; he hath now room and opportunity for his greatest designs. His kindred are without pausing preferred to offices of state, his brethren to new honours; ARCHIBALD is made earl of Murray, by the marriage of a lady of the house of Dunbar, who was heir of the lands, and the king's ward; GEORGE is created earl of Ormond; JOHN made lord of Balveny, and hath his donation ratified in an assembly of the three estates, who were convened at Edinburgh for matters concerning the marriage of the king, but in effect that the earl might pursue his old enemies. The commissioners are chosen after his pleasure, are prepared, instructed, prelimited by him; and to combine power with craft, he entereth in an offensive

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five and defensive league with many noblemen, barons, and gentlemen of the kingdom. All the wheels and vices of his clock being right set, ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, late governor, ALEXANDER, his eldest son, ROBERT LIVINGSTON treasurer, DAVID LIVINGSTON, JAMES DUNDAS, ROBERT BRUCE of Clackmanan, knights, for peculate and converting the prince's treasure to their private use, are forfeited, taken and committed to sundry prisons in December, 1447. at which time they were brought to Edinburgh. ALEXANDER the governor, JAMES DUNDAS and ROBERT BRUCE, after fines laid upon them, were remitted back to Dumbarton, there to be kept prisoners, during the king's pleasure. ALEXANDER the governor's son, a young man of great expectation, with ROBERT LIVINGSTON treasurer, and DAVID LIVINGSTON, not so much for any crime proved against them, as by the divine justice in punishing the severity of the governor, for the execution of the earl of Douglas in the castle of Edinburgh, had their heads cut off; the people much deploring their misfortune. By this blow the earl of Douglas thought he was more terribly avenged, than if he had proved his power against the old man; having thus, as it were, killed him twice. Though by this strict justice he pretended the public weal, his end was to govern all by his absolute authority, and make the world see what credit he had to help or harm when he pleased, admire his pompous attendance, his haughty carrying of all business, and his power in state.

The chancellor having perfected his embassy, MARY daughter to ARNOLD duke of Guelders, born of the duke of Burgundy's sister, a lady young, beautiful, and of a masculine constitution, arriveth in Scotland; and with great solemnity, accompanied with many strangers, and the nobility of the kingdom, is married to the king in the abbey church of Holy-rood-house. As these nuptial rites were finished, the peace between Scotland and England expired, and the borders of both kingdoms break, and mutually invade others. Amidst much robbery, spoil, and havoc upon either side, the earl of Salisbury, lieutenant and warden, upon the west, depopulateth

platteth the bordering villages, and burneth the town of Dumfries; the earl of Northumberland spoiling the east, burneth the town of Dunbar: JOHN DOUGLAS lord of Balveny, invadeth the English bounds, and burneth the town of Anwick. The ravaging and depredations in a short time turning equal, the two kingdoms agree upon a suspension of arms, and place and day to treat about a general peace: At the last by an assembly of the states, 1449, a truce is condescended unto for seven years. At this time ALEXANDER SETON, lord Gordon, is created earl of Huntley, and GEORGE LESLEY baron, earl of Rothes.

This truce was not long kept by any of the nations, but, as it had been drawn and plaistered up for the fashion, they conspire equally to break it. New incursions are made, slight skirmishes began to wound either side and banish peace, and just arms were constrained at last to be opposed to injurious oppressions. The Scots having made desolate some parts of Cumberland, an army, under the leading of the earl of Northumberland is raised, commanded by MAGNUS REDBEARD, whom the Scots, by reason of the length of his beard named MAGNUS with the red mane: a man trained from his youth in the wars of France; who is said to have required no more, for his service to the crown of England, than what he might by his own valour conquer of Scotland. The English march from the west borders, pass the river of Solway and Annan, and encamp near the river of Sark. The earl of Douglas declareth his brother, GEORGE earl of Ormond, lieutenant for the king against them; who with the power of the south and west loseth no time to encounter: the earl of Northumberland, the lord Percy his son, MAGNUS REDBEARD, Sir JOHN PENNINGTON, and Sir ROBERT HARRINGTON led the English battallions: the earl of Ormond, lord Maxwell, lairds of Johnston, and Craigy-Wallace, the Scottish. Here occasion and place serving, is it valiantly fought, the fortune of the day being long doubtful; till MAGNUS, whose experience and direction in war in those days was deemed unparalleled, his courage here turning into temerity, was beaten from his horse and slain. After his fall,
many

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many turning their backs, the earl of Northumberland himself with great danger escaped; more in the chase were lost than in the battle; such who essayed to pass the river, by the confusion and the weight of their arms, were plunged in the water; others, who could not find the fords, being taken, and brought to the castle of Lochmaban; amongst which were Sir JOHN PENNINGTON, Sir ROBERT HARRINGTON, and the lord Percy, who by saving his father engaged himself. Few renowned amongst the Scots were here lost, except CRAIGY WALLACE, a principal actor, who governing himself by honour and courage, died of his wounds there received, not many days thereafter. The English, to repair their loss, raised an army, but by the daily supplies raised for France, and their projected civil wars (the duke of York, earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury beginning to toss the state) it was kept at home for their own use, and a truce was agreed upon and concluded with Scotland for the space of three years, anno 1450.

This victory, obtained chiefly by the valour of the DOUGLASSES, advanced highly their credit with the young king, and the court sounded with nothing more than their praises. But great fortunes are as hard to bear as to acquire, and ordinarily prosperity carrieth us into insolencies, without pondering the consequence of our actions. WILLIAM COLVIL knight, upon a private quarrel, having slain JAMES AUCHINLECK, a follower of the earl of Douglas, the earl revenged his death, not only with the slaughter of WILLIAM, but with the throwing down of his house, and spoil of all his lands, which turned cold the affections of many about the court towards him, and made him terrible to all of a contrary faction to his. After this, whether tired with his working thoughts, or to shun more hatred and envy; or to try what time would produce, amidst the inward grudges and rancours of court, or that he held his own country too narrow lists for his glory, he leaveth the kingdom, substituting one of his brothers procurator for his affairs, and in his absence to govern his estate; accompanied with his brother Mr. JAMES, a man learned, and brought up in Sorbon divinity, expectant

pectant of the bishoprick of Dunkeld, JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow, the lords GRAHAM, SETON, OLIPHANT, SALTON, and many gentlemen, he arriveth in Flanders, cometh to France, passeth the Alps, and, it being the year of jubilee, stayeth at Rome; where he was honourably received and welcomed. Envy never leaveth great actors; he had not been long absent from his prince, when many are suborned to give up complaints against the oppressions, riots, and wrongs of his kindred, servants and vassals. The faults of his governing the king are pryed into; every oversight and escape aggravated to the height. The king at first was loath to lend an ear to misreports and calumnies of a man lately so well deserving, and dearly of him beloved: but overcome by importunity, and urged by the numbers of complainers, he gave way, that his brother and procurators should make answer for wrongs suffered by the complainers. After many citations, his brother not appearing, is at last by force presented to the council; when he could not answer to such faults as were laid against the earl's vassals and followers, nor acquit them of violent oppressions, he was only enjoined to restore to the complainers their loss, and make up all damages. Upon fair promises of restitution, the king bringeth him off the danger, and obtaineth him liberty to return home.

There, after long advisement with his other brothers and some haughty vassals, they declare, old rapines and wrongs being joined to new and recent, with which they were charged, the restitution was impossible, and like spilt water which could not be recovered. Not satisfied with his answer, the council cited the earl of Douglas upon some days to appear before them, and all his vassals and followers, with his brothers, to answer according to law, to such articles as should be given in against them. The earl was far off, and they considered it consisted not with their well to hazard their persons to the arbitrement of judges, many of which had been obnoxious to their affronts. Thus, for not appearing, they are denounced rebels, and warrants granted to invade and spoil their lands, as public enemies to authority and the present government. This decree is

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followed

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followed by open force; and to facilitate the execution of it, and to take up the earl of Douglas's rents, WILLIAM earl of Orkney cometh to Galloway, Douglasdale and Liddesdale: but he found authority, not seconded with power, against lusty rebels, to produce weak effects; for he returned disobeyed, and near spoiled and rifled by the earl's tenants and vassals.

The king, to vindicate his authority, since he could not prevail by reason, with competent forces in person entereth the same territories, taketh all the strong fortresses and castles where he came, demolisheth the castle of Douglas, placeth a garrison in Lochmaben, giveth the custody of such places as he spared, with the whole goods and moveables appertaining to them, to the complainers, and men interested in wrongs or blood by the rebels. The noise of this unexpected back-blow, being heard at Rome, perplexed not a little the earl of Douglas: many of his train leave him; that, where lately he represented a prince, he seemed now scarce a private gentleman; he was assured he lived under a sovereign, who maugre all detractions would hear his own defences. Upon which hopes, he resolveth to return, and taketh him to his journey: and for his greater haste and safe progress, he obtaineth a pass through England, and cometh to the borders of Scotland. His brother JAMES is directed to the court, to understand the king's mind towards him; and if there were any possibility, in this ebb of favours, to have access to him.

The king ingenuously promiseth to accept him, and performed it for all that happened by the misdemeanour of his friends in his absence, requesting that he would but live peaceably according to the order of the state, without hating that which his prince loved, or disproving that which he approved and authorised; and that, as himself and his brothers were ever the most able and readiest to repel the wrongs of strangers, so they would endeavour to entertain unity and concord in the country itself, and purge their lands of thieves and robbers; if mischievous and wicked men were not punished, there would be no surety nor safety for the good and virtuous. Past wrongs are pardoned, the garrisons removed from his castles, and they are rendered

dered unto him. Then, to put him in assurance of increasing favours, he is made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, a place great, and requiring great action, being only to be bestowed upon a man active, great in power and friends.

The earl of Douglas, again afloat in the stream of his sovereign's favours, might have continued, if his miseries had not been decreed from above: soon after he falls in a new disgrace. Whether upon a promise of return, or that he was sent for, or that he would officiously give thanks for received courtesies, when he was in his way homewards, he passeth privately to the court of England, and without his master's knowledge or leave, hath many days serious conference with the nobility of that kingdom, then many ways distressed by the rebellion of Kent, and the factions of the great men. The pretended cause of his journey was given out to be, the repairing of his own and his vassals losses, sustained by the inroads of the English, the time of his travels abroad, and the redressing of other disorders on the west-borders. But his enemies suggested, he intended to enter into a league with some of the English to the disadvantage of his master, and trouble of his country, by changing the form of government, or the officers of state. King JAMES took this meeting with the English in an evil part; but, after great intercession and many requests of the queen and noblemen, after he had submitted himself to his clemency, and acknowledged his error, received him. In the mean time, he is discharged of all public employments, his offices of state are divided between the earl of Orkney and the lord Creighton his reconciled enemies.

Removed from public employments, he giveth himself to study private revenge, and the whole secret council turn distasteful unto him; especially ORKNEY and CREIGHTON, men perfectly abhorring his ambition, and who greatly feared his unmeasurable greatness.

Their suspected affronts and alleged wrongs towards him were increased daily by tales of sycophants. It was told the earl, that the lord Creighton, in a conference with the king, had said, "It were expedient for the

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" peace of the country, that the earl of Douglas, with
 " all his friends and followers, were rooted out, and
 " their memory abolished; but if that were left undone,
 " neither should the king rule in due majesty, nor the
 " subjects ever give him that obedience which they
 " ought. That wise princes suffered houses to grow
 " as men do spider-webs, not taking heed of them so
 " long as they were small, but when they were offen-
 " sively increased, they swept them wholly away."
 Irritated by these and many such like speeches, after
 much contempt of the chancellor, one dawning as he
 was early coming from Edinburgh to his castle of
 Creighton, the earl who wanted not his own intelli-
 gence amongst his followers, hatred being an evil coun-
 sellor, laid an ambush for him on the high-way. But
 the clearness of the morning discovering it, by the swift-
 ness of his horse he escapeth; some of his company be-
 ing wounded, and one of the assailers slain in the pur-
 suit. A few days after, the chancellor, to repair his
 credit, accompanied with a number of his friends and
 followers, coming in great haste to Edinburgh, had un-
 awares surprized the earl of Douglas, then attended but
 with a small number of his friends, if he had not speed-
 ily shifted himself from the danger. This contention,
 now bursting forth into open hostility, divided into fa-
 ctions the whole kingdom; the earl of Douglas main-
 taining his, by the long continued grandeur of his
 house; the chancellor standing by his prince's favour,
 and a long practice of the affairs and course of the
 world. The earl fearing the authority of the king might
 sway the balance and make the party unequal, if he
 should be brought to call to remembrance past actions
 and attempts of his predecessors, findeth nothing more
 expedient to curb his enemies, and strengthen his pro-
 ceedings, than to renew his old confederation, and com-
 bine with him many others. Hereupon the earls of
 Crawford, Ross, Murray, Ormond, the lord Balveny,
 knight of Cadyow, many barons and gentlemen, with
 their allies, vassals, and servants, to a great number,
 subscribed and swore solemnly, *Never to desert one
 another during life; that injuries done to any one of them,
 should be done to them all, and be a common quarrel; nei-*
ther

ther should they desist to their best abilities to revenge them: that they should concur indifferently against whatsoever persons within or without the realm, and spend their lives, lands, goods, and fortunes, in defence of their debates and differences whatsoever. This confederation and covenant again renewed, turned the earl imperious in his deportments, presumptuous beyond all limits, and his followers and adherents insupportable to their neighbours: the lands of such who were not of their party, or refused to think all their thoughts, and second them in their enterprizes, were plundered; and goodriess was a cause to make men suffer most pillage and ransacking of their goods, and other miserable calamities. At this time the thieves and robbers of Liddesdale and Annandale break into the lands of JOHN lord Herreis, a nobleman, who had continued constantly faithful to the king, and drive with them a great booty of cattle. Complaints being given to the earl of Douglas of the depredations of his men, and finding no redress, the lord Herreis essayeth to drive the like prey in recompence of the damage; but being unequal in power, his misfortune was to be taken by the thieves, and brought as prisoner to the earl, who laid him fast in irons; and notwithstanding the king's letters, full of intreaties and threatenings, without any formality of law, caused hang him as a felon. The like mischief was practised in other places. After this contempt of sovereignty, it was universally blazed that the earl of Douglas, in respect of this new covenant, the power of his kinsmen and allies, the entertaining of such who were discontent and discountenanced at court, the love and favour of the men of arms in Scotland, ever governed by some of his name, his riches, the honour of his ancestors, had resolved to dissemble no longer, but openly to play his game, and essay one day, if he could set the crown upon his own head, being then able to raise an army of forty thousand warlike persons, men ready to go with him, whither or against whom they cared not, attending only the occasion, and his commandment.

The king, who before but disdained the pride, after this league became jealous of the earl of Douglas (a

league giving a law to a king, breaking all bonds of sovereignty, and inviting a people to look for a new master;) and though his modesty and patience served only to turn the earl more insolent, and his boldness more active; yet in a foul game he bare a fair countenance; knowing the last thing which a sovereign prince should do, is to show himself male-content and offended with any of his subjects; for instead of chastising him, he would give him fairer means and greater power to do him harm; he would not shew a token of any prejudicial thought to the earl's proceedings till he had first heard himself.

Thus very calmly he desired him to come, and speak with him at Stirling; which, he conscious of his own misdemeanor, except upon a public assurance under the great seal for his safe coming and return, refused to do: a safe conduct being obtained about the shrove-tide, in the year 1452. he came to the court then remaining at Stirling castle, accompanied with many of his confederates, and a powerful retinue. The king, with a gracious countenance, and all apparent respect received him, endeavouring rather by kindness and humanity, than by rigour to reclaim him to his former obedience. The day near spent, the gates of the castle shut, all removed, except some of the council and the guards; the king taking the earl friendly apart, remembered him of favours received, wrongs forgotten, the duties, as a subject, he owed to his prince, his capitulation before he would come and speak with him; he taxed him with the exorbitant abuses and outrages of his followers: then he told him, "What informations he had of a covenant of mutual defence and adherence betwixt him and some of his nobles and gentlemen, which he would scarce believe: he prayed him to consider the murmuring, or rather begun sedition of his people, his long patience in tolerating his proceedings, his misbelief of evil reports towards him; until he had heard what he had to say for himself and his innocency."

The earl answered the king's towardness in equal terms, trusting much to his confederation; "For his favours, he should strive with all obsequiousness to deserve them; that, as he had the honour to com-
mand

"mand others who obeyed him, he knew very well
 "how to be commanded; and obey his prince; and in
 "what disobedience consisted: that as none of his sub-
 "jects enjoyed more lands and honours than himself,
 "there should not one be found who more willingly
 "would engage all his fortunes and person for the ho-
 "nour of his prince: that they who laid snares for his
 "life being so near his majesty, for the surety of his
 "person he could not come to court, except upon a
 "public assurance, and well accompanied: for the
 "wrongs committed by his followers and vassals, he
 "would give what satisfaction should be required: con-
 "cerning the band of mutual friendship betwixt him
 "and some noblemen, they would have adhered to-
 "gether without any writing; they were driven there-
 "unto for their own safety, nor out of mind to offer,
 "but repel injuries: that he was infinitely obliged to
 "his goodness, in not condemning him before he was
 "heard, and for that he had not lent a credulous ear
 "to his enemies mischievous devices.

The king replied, "Effects, and not words, make
 "the affection and submission of a subject known; and
 "could there be any greater surety for him, than to
 "rely on the laws of the commonwealth and country?
 "especially, continued he, in a country where laws,
 "and not faction rule, and where a man's own good-
 "ness is able to preserve him: but such men, as you
 "are, raise these factions, to the subversion of all laws
 "and authority: and for subjects to make an offen-
 "sive and defensive league against all persons; is to dis-
 "claim all government, and do what they please with-
 "out controlment; commit treason in the highest de-
 "gree, and make your own swords and power justify
 "your proceedings, which though ye first use against
 "mean persons, and conceal the progress of your acti-
 "ons (for there are degrees in evil, and wicked men
 "begin at that which seemeth the least of evils, or not
 "an evil at all at the first) your last aim is likely to be
 "the robbing upon the crown. Consider, my lord, ye
 "are born under a monarchy, which admitteth no so-
 "vereignty but itself, and it is natural to princes to
 "hold it in highest esteem, and in no case to suffer

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it to be shaken by their subjects. Take your prince for your best protection, and an innocent life: renounce that union and league with your peers, which unless commanded, or approved, or permitted by your prince, subsisteth not in law nor in reason, being forbidden under great pains. And let it not be heard any longer, that ever such an unjust confederation was, and so wonted clemency shall be preferred before deserved justice."

The earl replied, "The league being drawn up by the common consent of many lords, barons and gentlemen, and subscribed, it could not be cancelled nor renounced, but by their common consent; nor was it profitable for the king, nor to him otherwise to have it done, that being together, they might condescend to the renouncing and cancelling of it. But," says the king, you, to show good example to the rest, shall first begin; neither, living, shall any traitor in my presence disavow and disclaim my authority, in what is within my possibility of accomplishing." The earl requests him to remember, "He came to court upon a public assurance. A public assurance cannot so warrant any man, but that he may fall by his own private misdemeanor, answered the king." Withal, considering a mean courage in a king to be an imputation, and that he did neither wrong towards God nor his fame, in revenging himself upon the enemies of the state; the place, a strong castle; his present power, all within being his counsellors and servants; the danger if he should escape; the easiness of suppressing the rebellion, the head taken away; The earl continuing hot and stubborn, in debating his points of the league, wrath banishing other doubts and interests, his dagger performed what armed justice scarcely attempt: the king's blow, the noise arising, was seconded by a number of his servants, who rushing in the room left him dead, upon the eve of Shrove-Tuesday, the 22d of February, 1452.

About the last scene of this tragedy, a pair of spurs between two platters, an emblem of speedy flight, as a part of the king's banquet, is directed to Sir JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow; this he communicateth to the lords.

lords and gentlemen of the union, in which time the news of the earl's death is spread abroad. The leaguers finding themselves weak to carry so strong a place as the castle, in hot blood set on fire divers quarters of the town of Stirling, make proclamation against the king and his council, for violating the assurance granted to the earl: infamous libels are spread every where, and the safe conduct of the king and his council bound to a wooden truncheon at a horse's tail is dragged amongst the streets: in the market place, by the mouth of a crier, to the sound of all their hunting-horns, they declare the king, and those that abode with him, faith-breakers, perjured persons, enemies to all goodness and good men. JAMES the next brother of the house of Douglas, a church-man, being proclaimed earl, in rage and madness, committing all sorts of hostility, they over-run the lands and possessions of those whom they suspected would side with the king, and not prove of their party: JOHN lord of Dalkeith their kinsman and of the name of DOUGLAS, they besiege in his castle of Dalkeith, for that he hated their proceedings; the tenants and vassals of the earl of Angus are plundered for the same cause: the strength of the place raised the siege of Dalkeith; and the earl of Angus, by their many wrongs and insolencies, remained more constant to the king.

In this time the king writeth to all the good towns of the realm, and church-men, giving reasons for the taking away the earl, imputing the fault to the earl himself, exhorting the people to make no stir for the just execution of a man born for the ruin of the kingdom, and who voluntarily had precipitated himself into his own mishap; offering all his power to keep the country in quietness, according to that authority in which God had placed him. This blow, as particular interests made the hearts of men incline, and as passions were various, was variously and in several manners taken: some without inquiring of circumstances, after what fashion or occasion soever done, allowing it, thought the king had more clear and evident inducements for his deed, than could fall within the labyrinths of reasoning. The majesty of a prince hardly falleth from a

height to a midst, but easily is precipitated from any midst to the lowest degree and station: the king, said they, hath obviated this fall, hath set afoot again and raised his authority threatened with ruin; he hath vindicated his liberty almost thrall'd, hath assured the lives, honours, and estates of many loyal subjects, which were endangered by not adhering to the league of the earl, and keeping their oath of allegiance to the king: he, if he please, now with honour and reputation may hold his parliaments, bring to pass his designs for the conservation of his authority, and the peace of his subjects. Others blamed this deed every where, and in every circumstance; laying perjury and murder against him, and the breaking of the public faith and assurance, the common bond of human society, the common defence of all, and the ground of justice.

To which it was answered, that the earl was not taken away for his past demerits and misdeservings, but for what he had recently committed in the king's own presence, having spoken to him with an insupportable irreverence; they which have safe conduct, being obliged to shun all kind of offence towards him who gives it them, any enormity being sufficient to annul the benefit of it.

More, for the breach of faith, the earl and his confederates were the more perjured, and he the murderer of himself; they having violated that natural oath to their king, which all subjects owe to their sovereigns, by drawing up a league among his people, to the breaking of the ties of sovereignty; giving, by this, occasion and just cause to the king to reward them after their demerits. Most said the killing of the earl was evil, but that it was a necessary evil. That as nature suffereth not two suns, so reason of state suffereth not that in one kingdom there be two kings, but that of necessity the one must overthrow the other; and matters going thus, he who giveth the first blow hath the advantage. Thus did men judge diversly after their proper interests, of the deeds of others.

The torrent of these disorders increasing, laws are neglected, towns, villages, houses, the high-ways, are everywhere afflicted with rapine, fire and fury, and, save

safe needy boldness, nothing is safe and secure in any place.

The changing multitude, like mad-men limning portraits with their own blood; delight in their proceedings, and daily increase in the number of the rebels. In this insurrection the king is reduced to many extremities, and is said to have thought upon an escape by sea to France, if he had not been diverted by JAMES KENNEDY, bishop of St. Andrews, who told him, "That to leave the kingdom was to give all over to the insolency of his rebels, and for fear of burning, to leap into the fire itself: that besides the high and long continued title of a king, which the best part of his subjects yet revered, he had sufficient friends and war-like men, who appearing in the field with him, would raise a just fear in the hearts of those who so hainously dared disobey him; that God would be present to revenge wronged majesty, and turn their hopes in despair; that the common people were ever changing, and a little time would make them flow to these from whom they did ebb; and all would return again, except such as were guilty of other offences, or such whose poverty made them fear a beggarly peace as their greatest punishment; that his chiefest and principal city stood good for him, which example the other towns would undoubtedly follow; that rebellion was like thunder, the noise of which, if observed duly, was often more terrible than the blow, and dissolved ordinarily in tears of repentance and fair weather: that here the prudence of a prince manifesteth itself, when he cannot suppress and stop all the evils in his state, to suffer and tolerate the least, and with leisure and time abolish and extirpate the greater, and make virtue of rebellion."

The king, by the bishop's counsel and assistance, gathereth an army, but will not try the hazard of a battle, before those, he had advertised and sent for, should join with these already about him, and his forces from all the quarters of the kingdom be united. In the north, the earl of Huntley had raised a goodly company to come to his aid; but the earl of Crawford, a confederate of the earl of Douglas, with a power of the men of Angus,

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Angus, and all who would follow him, guided by some French commanders, essayed to cut off his passage, and encountereth him at Brechin. The battle is fought, and the victory inclined where the king's standard was displayed by the earl of Huntley. The equity of the cause laid aside, the occasion of this victory was ascribed to JOHN COLOSS of Bonnymoon, who having one of the wings of the army to guide, which consisted of battle-axes, great swords, and long spears, and the best invasive weapons, in the hottest of the skirmish, gave ground, and left the middle ward naked upon his side. The reason of his revolt is reported, that the night before the battle, when every man was resolving with his affairs of the world, Bonnymoon requested the earl of Crawford, of whom he held his lands ward and relief, since the next day he was resolved either to be victorious or die in the field, to subscribe a precept, himself falling, for entering his son to his lands. This the superior refusing, the vassal out of a just indignation, where he should have charged, retired, and his company with him. Such thoughts possessed not the earl of Huntley's mind; he dealt not so sparingly with his friends in hope of their good service: to the FORBESES, OGILBIES, LESLIES, GRANTS, IRVINES, he freely gave many of his own lands, which raised their courage to the height. In requital of which, the king after bestowed upon him the lands of Badenoch and Lechaiber. In the conflict the earl of Huntley lost two brothers; the earl of Crawford, Sir JOHN LYNDSAY his brother being left on the field, fled to his house of Finhaven, where he was heard to say, he would be content to remain seven years in hell, to have in so timely a season done the king his master that service the earl of Huntley had performed, and carry that applause and thanks he was to receive from him. This conflict happened upon the ascension day, the 18 day of May, 1452.

The king, by the confluence and resort of many worthy subjects unto him, having time to breathe, and finding himself in a calm, keepeth a convention of the states at Edinburgh. Here the earls of DOUGLAS, CRAWFURD, ORMOND, MURRAY, the lord BALVENY, Sir JAMES HAMILTON, and others, are cit-

ed to answer according to law. They, instead of appearing, in the night, upon the doors of the principal churches, and other places eminent, fix many placards and libels, signed with their hands; which bear, the earl of Douglas, nor his followers will never obey command: nor charge in time coming, nor answer citation; for that the king is not a just master, but a blood-sucker, a murderer, a transgressor of hospitality, a surpriser of the innocent, and such who deserved no harm at his hands. Not long after the king levied an army, which by the approaching winter did little service; and the earl of Douglas, to save the lands of BEATRIX his brother's widow, unseparated from their house, sought by a dispensation from the pope to have her in marriage, alleging her untouched of his brother; which being refused him, he kept her in place of his wife, the effect of his Sorbon divinity, and found hereby more briars than roses.

The earl of Crawford, placing two firths of seas betwixt him and the king, spoileth the lands of all those who forsook him at Brechin; and ANCHBALD earl of Murray burneth the pile of Strathbogy, pertaining to the earl of Huntley. In revenge of which, the earl of Huntley burnt and herried all the lands of the earl of Murray beyond the Spey: the king too, in this madness of mankind, defaceth his own country, pulling down the houses of his rebel-subjects, and wasting Annandale: This ravage, and mutual overturning of all, having continued almost two whole years, the faction of the earl, far inferior to the king's, now weakened with such lasting incursions; sundry of the chief men and heads, considering the least faults were the best, " That it was
 " better to strike sail in time, than make a full ship-
 " wreck of their persons, honours, and the weal of the
 " kingdom; and state, counsel the earl, that servours
 " growing colder, since it could not be undone which
 " was done, he would not set greater work on foot, but
 " proceeding with conveniency, submit himself friendly
 " to the king, who had as much goodness as generosity,
 " and fought and required nothing of his subjects but
 " obedience: and having now proved how difficult it
 " was to overcome them by arms, was, perhaps, as
 " much

" much tired as they, and would pardon these faults
 " which he could not otherwise amend; necessity in af-
 " fairs of princes, constraining them to yield to many
 " things in government against their first conclusions,
 " and resolve to grant that which they could not well
 " hinder: that there were many hours in the day, and
 " the hearts of princes were subject to change in them:
 " that he should not forsake the public weal of the
 " kingdom for his private considerations: that after
 " this trouble of state, he might be more esteemed and
 " sought after by the king, as it is ordinarily practised
 " among princes and great men, who affect only that
 " which is necessary unto them."

To these the earl answered, " That they had went
 " too far forwards to think upon any cowardly retreat
 " and coming back again: that the only virtue under
 " a tyrant, was to die constantly; that other virtues
 " did fight, but constancy alone triumphed; that for
 " himself, he would never trust his life to the mercy
 " of those who, under colour of friendship and banquet-
 " ing, had first made away his two kinsmen, and after
 " his own brother; for if they being innocent, were
 " thus handled, what might he expect who had been
 " the occasion of such distraction in the state? He that
 " had once broken his faith, except by a surety, is un-
 " able again, in law, to contract and enter in bond with
 " any; who will be surety between a king and his sub-
 " jects? that treaties, agreements, covenants, and bar-
 " gains of a prince with rebellious subjects, engage him
 " no further, no longer than the term-time or day which
 " pleaseth him to accept, observe, and keep them, as
 " they turn or may turn to his utility and advantage;
 " that as in nature there is no regrets found from pri-
 " vation to an habit, so neither in state, men once dis-
 " graced do return to their former honours; that prin-
 " ces mortally hated all subjects who had either attempt-
 " ed to over-rule them by power, or had cast any
 " terror upon them: and howsoever by constraint they
 " bear sail for a time, in the end they were sore pay-
 " masters: that there was nothing more contrary to a
 " good agreement, than to appear to be too earnest and
 " busy to seek to obtain it; he would sue for none:
 " that

that all his days he had loved sincerity, constancy and fidelity, and could not unsay and recant what he had promised and practised, nor do against his heart: his friends and his own standing was by their swords, which should either advance their enterprizes, and turn them victors, or they would die honourably like themselves and men, and not ignobly be murdered like beasts."

This free and dangerous resolution of the earl moved many who heard it, to provide for their own safety, and resolve not to suffer longer misery for other men's folly, finding this war was not like to have any end, and that danger and death would be the only reward of their rebellion. Amongst others, the earl of Crawford, after great adversity, when he could not move the earl of Douglas to submit himself to the king's clemency, with many tears and protestations of his sincere love and counsel to him, left him; and some weeks, as the king was in progress in Angus, in a sad penitential manner, accompanied with his best friends, coming in his way, with much humility and sorrow he acknowledged his fault, pleading rather for pity to his house, which had so long flourished, than to his person. The king knowing his example would be no small occasion to weaken the power of the earl of Douglas, and that of all the rebels he was the greatest object of his clemency, was content to receive him; but he would have it done by the mediation of JAMES KENNEDY, bishop of St. Andrews, and the lord Creighton, once his greatest enemies, which he refused not to embrace. Thus freely remitted, with those who accompanied him, he returned to his own house of Finhaven, where within few months he died of a burning ague.

The three estates after assembled at Edinburgh, where JAMES earl of Douglas, the countess BEATRIX, whom he kept by way of a pretended marriage, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS earl of Murray, GEORGE earl of Ormond, JOHN DOUGLAS Lord of Balveny, with others their adherents, friends and followers, are attainted of high treason, and their lands and goods are confiscated and decerned to be seized on to the king's use. The earldom of Murray is given to JAMES CREIGHTON,

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TON, who had married the eldest daughter of the earl of Murray; but he perceiving he could not possess it in peace, returned it back again to the king. At this time GEORGE CREIGHTON was created earl of Caithness, WILLIAM HAY constable earl of Errol, DARNLEY, HAILES, BOYD, LYLE, and LORN, lords of parliament; the king maketh a road into Galloway, reducing every strong hold and castle of the country to his power; Douglasdale he abandoned to the spoil of the soldiers.

Matters at home turning desperate, the earl of Douglas being brought to that pass, that he knew not what to wish or fear, JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow is sent to England to invite the ancient enemy of the kingdom to take a part of her spoil, and help to trouble the king: but the English had greater business amongst themselves than could permit them to espouse the quarrel of the earl. After Sir JAMES HAMILTON was returned with an excuse and regret that some of the English lords could not supply their confusion, but only by their counsel, he advised the earl of Douglas to trust to his own power and forces, which were sufficient, measuring their courage, and not counting their heads, to hold good against the king. There was no human affair where men were not necessitated to run some danger, nor any business taken in hand with such a certainty, which by unknown causes, and even light ones, might not run a hazard of some mishap; that he should study to embrace and accept of what was most honourable and least dangerous: it was better once to try the worst than ever to be in fear of it: it was fit for him to commit something to fortune, and wisdom could counsel nothing, but to shun the greatest evil. This lingering war would not only tire, but overcome and vanquish them, when one fair day of battle, either by death or victory, would crown their desires. Others advised him not to hazard upon a battle, except upon seen and approved advantage, and to time it out a while: in this lingering war a truce might be agreed upon, which ere long might turn to a peace, in which every thing past might be forgotten and pardoned; that wars were managed more by occasions and times than by arms: that the king could not be now but tired, since he had learned, that by es-

saying

saying by arms to overcome them, he had gained nothing, but trained up his subjects, whom he called rebels, in all war-like discipline, and had his country spoiled, and the policy defaced. Should they once enter in blood, all hopes were gone of any conditions of peace.

At this time the king besieging the castle of Abercorn; to relieve the besieged, hither marcheth with all his forces the earl of Douglas. Being come within view of the king's army, he observeth their march slow, the countenances of his soldiers altered, much whispering, and their spirits in a manner dejected. Countrymen were to fight against countrymen, friends against friends, and all against their prince. Interpreting this rather to proceed from their weariness, than want of good-will to enter the lists, as well to refresh and cherish them to be more prompt and lusty of courage the next morning, as to take counsel what course to follow, and how to dispose of their game, he stayeth that afternoon and pitcheth his tents. To men unfortunate every thing turneth an enemy. Whether Sir JAMES HAMILTON gave way to this, or not, is uncertain: but after, it is said, that in a chase he told the earl, "He had neglected the opportunity of fight, and should never see so fair a day again, in which he might have hazarded one cast of a dye for a whole kingdom. But his fortune was now declined, and, perhaps, would never stand upright; that by giving that night to his soldiers to pause and deliberate on the matter, they would, perchance, take the safest way, be more advised what to enterprize the next morning, readily not fight at all, consisting of a number of bold young gentlemen, volunteers, who for the most part out of bravery and compassion followed him; that the king's army, by his lingering and lying off, was encouraged, finding they were to cope with men who would advise ere they fought." After which speeches he bade the earl farewell: and now knowing that the way lay open both for pardon and favour to him that would first seek it, he in the night breaketh out with some friends, and having got over the field betwixt the two camps, was brought safely to the king, who graciously received, and freely

freely pardoned him. The army, having understood the clandestine revolt and escape of Sir JAMES HAMILTON, disbanded, every man slipping away by secret passages to his own habitation; that on the morrow there was nothing to be seen but the solitary field upon which they had encamped. The king, out of joy of this bloodless victory, caused proclaim in all his chief towns, "That since sovereign authority had no less
 "splendor by the actions of clemency, than by these
 "of justice, all those who had followed the earl of Douglas, and been of his party, rather by misfortune and
 "unadvised rashness, than any evil-will against him,
 "should be freely pardoned: those who would abandon the earl, and come to the king's camp, whosoever they were, no justice, no law, should trouble
 "them, but they should be received to mercy, and have
 "all pardon." After this proclamation, many submitted themselves to the king and were pardoned; though Sir JAMES HAMILTON was remitted, yet that under colour of reconciliation worse mischief might not be plotted, the king sent him, with the earl of Orkney, to the castle of Rosling during his pleasure, and the taking in of the castle of Abercorn; remembering also it was some prejudice to a prince to be obliged to any rebel.

The earl of Douglas gathering together the split pieces of his shipwrack, with his brothers, and so many of his confederates as would not forsake him, flieth to England. Here with much travel, by many promises of rewards, great hopes of spoil, gathering unto him a power of out-laws, felons, bankrupts, and such as lived by rapine, as well of his own nation, as of the English, he maketh an inroad upon the west borders of Scotland; some villages being burnt, many preys, and much spoil driven into England: at last he meeteth with the valiant men who were appointed to defend the marches, the MAXWELLS and SCOTTS. Here in a furious skirmish his companies are discomfited, ARCHIBALD earl of Murray his brother is slain, and his head sent to the king; the earl of Orkney is taken prisoner; himself with the lord Balveny with great difficulty escapeth into a forest. When he sought to return again into England, he findeth all passages stopped up, the
 ways

ways laid for him, and beginning to feel much want, he is constrained in a disguised habit to lurk meanly in the inmost parts of Scotland, till he wandered toward the far Highlands; where finding DONALD earl of Ross, lord of the isles, one of his league, a man cruel, arrogant, and unpolished; after many discourses and long conference with him, being no less eloquent than active, he possesseth him with great hopes, after a division of the kingdom between them two, of an absolute power and government of all the Highlands, besides the wealth and treasure which he would purchase by the spoil: he requireth only he would break in upon the more civil countries, bring all the fire-brands he could, to kindle and trouble them, and cut work for the king, whilst he with new supplies, and a great army to be raised in England, should invade the marches and bordering countries. The earl of Ross, who thought nothing impossible to him, being to himself in these barbarous parts by phantasy a king, and was used to vaunt of a long pedigree from FERGUS, relisheth the profit and possibility of this enterprize, sweareth to leave nothing undone for the accomplishing of it; and parting with him upon mutual assurance, intreateth only celerity and swift performance of what they had concluded.

Scarce was the earl of Douglas in England, when the earl of Ross, the two pillars of his designs being injustice and violence, supported by fair hopes from the south, with his wild mountaineers and islanders, like an inundation, over-runneeth the neighbour bounds. Argyle suffereth the first effects of their fury; the isle of Arran is taken, and the castle made a bone-fire (as if they were the sacrifice for the sins of the rest;) the bishop of the isles saveth himself by flight, and taketh sanctuary; Lochaber and Murray-land are spoiled, the town of Inverness is set on fire, the castle surprized, murders, ravishings, robberies, with what insolency the barbarous cannibals could commit, are every where, and the sad image of death ravageth amongst the common people. The earl of Douglas, now at his last shifts and efforts, leaveth no means nor helps unsought out: such who lived upon prey and spoil resort unto him; he maketh hot incursions, and after a most hostile manner, which

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which purchafed him the hatred of all his countrymen, and turned thofe who were indifferent in his quarrel, his profefled enemies. This ravage continuing, HENRY earl of Northumberland, after flain at Caxton-field, whom love of the valour of the houfe of Douglas, and true commiferation, had brought to take arms with him, invadeth one quarter of the Merfe, and the earl of Douglas turneth towards another. But whilft they are difperfed, and more eager and intentive to carry away fpoil, than to look to their own fafety and military difcipline, the earl of Angus, with Sir JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow, put them both, with number and confufion over-born, to flight, flaying many, and taking more prifoners. After this overthrow, during the king's reign, the earl of Douglas deliberating not to oppofe longer to neceffity, but to be ftill till better times, never attempted to invade his country.

Amidft thefe incurfions, the earl of Ormond at Edinburgh is beheaded; the countefs of Douglas, BEATRIX, all hopes being loft of reftoring her husband, defpoiled of her lands and fair heritage, turned now a monfter of fortune, the blame of her unlawful wedlock laid upon the earl, confented to by her out of a certain fear of her life, fubmitteth herfelf to the king's clemency. The king who denied not mercy to any who fought it of him, that the lefs guilty amongft the feditious might withdraw themfelves, and the obftinate remain the lefs powerful and weak, receiveth her, and giveth her in marriage to his brother JOHN, earl of Athole, fon to the black knight of Lorn, defigning for her dowry the lordfhip of Balveny.

By her example, the countefs of Rofs, abhorring the fiercenefs and cruelties, as ſhe gave out, of her barbarous husband, but rather out of policy to be agent for him, fieth to the king, and hath revenues allowed her for the maintainance of her eftate. Not long after, the earl of Rofs himfelf, the mifadventure of his confederates having taught him now fome wifdom, having feen the king's clemency towards others equal to him in treason and rebellion, by many humble fupplications craved pardon, and begged peace. The king by his great prudence, and the courfe of the affairs of his kingdom,
knew

knew that it was necessary sometimes to condescend to the imperfections and faults of some subjects, and having compassion, to apply and accommodate himself to that, which though according to the strictness of equity was not due, yet for the present occasion and reason of state, was convenient, answered, "He would neither altogether pardon him, nor flatly reject him, there being many signs of his wickedness, and few of his changed mind; when honestly, without fraud or guile, he should crave a pardon, and give satisfaction to those whom by blood and pillage he had wronged, and by some noble action deface the remembrance of his former crimes, then should it be good time to receive him. Notwithstanding this should not discourage him, but he should know he had a desire to make him relish the effects of his bounty, so he himself would find the means and subject. In the interim, he wished him to keep the common peace of the country, and not oppress any of his neighbours."

About this time the university of Glasgow was founded by WILLIAM TURNBULL bishop of that see. WILLIAM HAY earl of Errol, GEORGE CREIGHTON earl of Caithness, WILLIAM lord CREIGHTON, died 1455, and the bishop of St. Andrews is made chancellor.

The king partly having loosed, partly cut in pieces that gordian knot of the league of his nobility, began to re-obtain again the ancient authority of the kings his predecessors, giving and imposing laws to his subjects, according to reason and greatest conveniencies. Shortly progressing through the quarters of the kingdom, by the sound counsel and instructions of the bishop of St. Andrews, JAMES KENNEDY, and WILLIAM SINCLAIR earl of Orkney, he used such clemency, that in a short time he reclaimed all his turbulent subjects. In the year 1455, he held a parliament, where he ratified what was resolved upon to be done for the peace and weal of his people, establishing many profitable laws for posterity. After this time ambassadors came from England and France unto him.

HENRY VI. king of England, a soft facile prince, and more fit to obey than command, having restored in blood and allowed the descent of RICHARD PLANTAGE-

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NET duke of York; the duke under pretence and countenance of reforming the state and removing of bad counsellors from the court, the umbrage of all rebellions, by one JACK CADE an Irish, a bold man, and who had a spirit which did not correspond with his low condition, who feigned himself to be a cousin of his, of the house of Mortimer, and other his instruments, raised a rebellion; which began amongst the Kentish men, and was after continued by his confederacy with the duke of Norfolk, earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Devon, and others; and notwithstanding he had sworn fealty to king HENRY at Blackheath, again openly took arms against him at St. Albans; where, in pitched field, EDMOND duke of Somerset, his greatest competitor, and who had been preferred to his place in the regency of France, was killed, the king wounded, taken and committed in the tower of London. At a parliament after, the duke is made protector of the kingdom; at another parliament he maketh claim for the crown as in his own right, laying down thus his title. The son of ANNE MORTIMER, daughter and heir to ROGER MORTIMER, earl of March, son and heir of PHILIP, the daughter and sole heir of LIONEL duke of Clarence, the third son of king EDWARD III. and elder brother to JOHN of Gaunt duke of Lancaster; is to be preferred by very good right in succession of the crown, before the children of JOHN of Gaunt, the fourth son of the said EDWARD III. But RICHARD PLANTAGENET, duke of York, is come of PHILIP, the daughter and sole heir of LIONEL, third son to king EDWARD III. then to be preferred to the children of the fourth son, who was JOHN of Gaunt, and so to HENRY IV. the usurper his son, to HENRY styling himself HENRY V. his son, and HENRY VI. now wrongfully calling himself king of England. This parliament chosen to the duke of York's own mind, at first various, at last unanimously enacted, that HENRY during his life should retain the name and honour of a king, but that the duke of York should be continued protector of the country, and be declared heir apparent, and successor of the crown after the death of HENRY. MARGARET the queen, daughter to RENEY king of Sicily, more courageous than her husband,

husband, disclaimeth the parliamentary authority, and this agreement of her king with the duke of York, as a matter done to the prejudice of her son, and against the laws of nations, which admit not a forced contract, and done by a prisoner.

The crown of England hanging at this point, the queen to her defence imploring the aid and assistance of her best and greatest friends and allies, sendeth ambassadors to king JAMES. These remembering the duties one king oweth to another against rebels, and the usurpers of their crowns, the correspondence and amity of king HENRY with king JAMES during his prosperity, expostulating the cruelty of the rebels against EDMOND the late duke of Somerset, uncle to king JAMES, slain by them in defence of his prince, promise in their king's name, queen's and their son's, with the approbation of the noblemen of their party, "To restore to the kings of Scotland, the lands of Northumberland, Cumberland, and bishopric of Durham, after the manner the kings of Scotland in former times had held these territories of the kings of England; so he would raise an army, and advance to their aid and supply."

The duke of York sent hither also his ambassadors, giving in many complaints against king HENRY, "He had oppressed the people with taxations, and all kind of exactions; he had preferred to places of state and government new men, by whose counsel, and his queen, he governed only; he despised the old nobility, he had lost Normandy and Gascony; as France had been lost by him, England was likely to run the same danger. They could no longer suffer his dull sluggishness, and his wife's exorbitant pride; he was courageless in war, and base in peace. For the duke of York, if justice did not warrant his claim, except his descent were undisputable, and his title without all exception, he would not desire the possession nor succession of the crown. King JAMES should remember, it was king HENRY who entertained the late dissensions and civil discords of Scotland; he supported the banished Scots in England. And after they had much enlarged their discourse with reasons of

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“ of a just war against king HENRY, if king JAMES
 “ will arise in arms against him, and assist them, they
 “ promise to restore and render all the forts and places
 “ of importance taken in the old wars from the king-
 “ dom of Scotland, to him and his successors.” King
 JAMES answered the English ambassadors, “ That he
 “ was not ignorant of the state of their kingdom, nei-
 “ ther to whom their crown did appertain, but that he
 “ would not take upon him to be umpire of their strife ;
 “ for the raising an army, he would think upon it,
 “ though he had small assurance for the performance
 “ of their promised conditions : he had long projected
 “ the recovering of the lost fortresses of Scotland in their
 “ hands, and now he would try whom he might trust.”
 The ambassadors dismissed, the king raised an army, but
 left to the divination of posterity, with which of the
 parties he was to side. The English and French writ-
 ers affirm, he was to aid king HENRY, and revenge
 the death of the duke of Somerset his mother’s brother;
 the Scottish, to assist the duke of York, and that by a
 counterfeit legate from the pope after he had been upon
 his march, he was moved to return. It seemeth that
 being persuaded by the French king (the ancient con-
 federate of Scotland, and who for that end had sent his
 ambassador) to keep the English within their own coun-
 try, and disable them in their conquest of France, he
 intended upon the advantage of this civil discord to
 make a road into England, as the French made an al-
 garad by sea upon Kent.

The king’s army being gathered, that it should not
 loiter in idleness, attending greater intelligence from
 the event of the English factions, having passed the
 Tweed, invadeth the town of Roxburgh, which, with
 little travel is taken and equalled with the ground ; and
 the castle, a strong fortress, is besieged. Whilst the
 king here passeth the time, inviting it more by courtes-
 lies and blandishments, than ammunition and warlike
 engines, to be rendered to him, commissioners came from
 the duke of York, requiring him to leave his siege, and
 contain himself within his own kingdom, unless he would
 run the hazard to engage himself in a war against the
 whole body of the kingdom of England ; they give him
 thanks

thanks for his forwardness to their supply: all things succeeding after their desires now, and as they could have wished, they request him to return home; when their necessity required his aid, they would implore it, and not prove forgetful for what he should do towards him. King JAMES asked the commissioners, if the duke of York and his associates had sent any direction concerning the keeping of their promises to him, when he should appear with an army; they assuring him they had no such commission; I, answered the king, before their embassy came, had resolved to take in and throw down this castle built upon my bounds, and being by no benefit obliged to any of your factions, will not for words leave off what I am about by arms to perform. The commissioners departing, the king caused apply his battery against the castle, which courageously defended itself, and holding good beyond expectation, bred an opinion that famine would be the only engine to make it render.

The king's army daily at this siege increased, and amongst all the companies none were more forward and prompt to discharge their duties in this service, than those of the late league with the earl of Douglas. Above others the earl of Ross, to testify his remembrance of the king's clemency in his behalf, with a great company of his Irish, came to the camp, men only fit for tumultuous fights and spoil. ALEXANDER earl of Huntley coming, the king, with the earl of Angus, would take a view of the trenches, and as to welcome a man, whose presence seemed to presage good fortune, caused discharge a pile of ordnance together: but his coming to this place was as fatal, as at Stirling prosperous; for at this salvo, by the slices of an overcharged piece of wedge, the king, his thigh-bone being broken, was stricken immediately dead, and the earl of Angus was sore bruised. This misfortune happened the third of August, 1460, the 29th, or as others, the 30th year of the king's life, and of his reign the 24th.

Who will take a fair view of this prince, shall find him to have been endowed with what conditions and qualities are to be desired or wished in a monarch, both for mind and body; of an excellent feature and pleasant
E aspect,

aspect, a strong vigorous complexion, given to all knightly exercises: he is said to have had a broad red spot upon one of his cheeks, from which by his countrymen he was named, JAMES *with the fiery face*, which would make physiognomists conceive, he was of an hot active violent disposition, and one who had more need of restraint than encouragement in all difficulties; yet in his actions we find him temperate, stayed, and of a well settled humour, proceeding upon sound grounds, and after mature deliberation, being much given to follow the advice and counsel of grave men about him. He was upright, sincere, affable, courteous, loving to his domestics, humane towards his enemies, gracious and benign to all men, a lover of justice, liberal, but without oppression of his loyal subjects; wise, in adversity industrious and diligent, politic in affairs of state; having always raised up one faction to relieve him from the hazard and burden of another, and expose the faction he most feared to the nearest hazard: he was wisely diffident, and put on a judicial distrust, often to be governed as occasions should vary, and could dissimulate according to the fashions and changes of the time: he seemeth to have been indifferent in keeping his favourites, and that he could ever as well transfer his fancy, as he had settled his affection; for, like the sun, he would make a round, and not always shine upon one horizon.

The death of the two earls of Douglas were fatal to him; and though he was innocent of the first, the second chanced deservedly in his hand. Courageous princes are not to be provoked by any subject how great soever: confederations and leagues are fearful attempts against sovereignty, and for the most part, end with the ruin of their authors. The extirpation of the earls of Douglas in the person of JAMES, a church-man, proceeded rather from his own stubbornness, than any hatred the king had against him. In all nations it is observed, that there are some families fatal to the ruin of their commonwealths, and some persons fatal to the ruin of the houses and race of which they are descended: since in kingdoms some have no compassion of their prince, nor the loss of his honour, a prince should
not

not much regret their loss, nor the ruin of their persons and estates. His great clemency appeared in this, that, the heads taken away of that long rebellion, he followed no particular revenge upon their followers, not only granting pardons, but forgetting the offences; knowing it was better to heal and cure the faulty and sick members of a state, than to abolish and cut them away; and more valour for a prince to overcome his own passions and just wrath, than to vanquish and subdue his proudest enemies; yet was not his clemency a list weakness, it being no less cruelty to forgive all than to spare none, but an order and discretion in justice, tempered with severity towards some more than towards others, according to their demerits. He was very sensible of the afflictions of such as were distressed, as witness the countesses of Douglas and Ross. His life having set in the orient of his age and hopes, he deserveth, in the records of memory and fame, a place amongst the best, but unfortunate, princes.

He had issue of his queen, JAMES, who succeeded, ALEXANDER duke of Albany, JOHN earl of Mar, MARGARET countess of Arran by the Boyd, and after lady HAMILTON; and CECILY. He was buried with all funeral pomp, within the monastery of Holy-rood-house at Edinburgh.



T H E H I S T O R Y O F T H E R E I G N o f J A M E S I I I.

TH E queen having tidings of the disaster of her husband, full of grief and cares, with her son, came to the army at Roxburgh; and the public loss being revealed, for till then it was but whispered, with more than a masculine courage caused give new and desperate assaults to the castle; many turrets being shaken, some gates broken, parcels of walls beaten down, the mines ready in diverse quarters to spring, the besieged ignorant of the assailers misfortune, and by the dissension of their countrymen fallen from all hopes of relief, treat upon a surrender. Conditions being obtained peaceably to depart with their lives and goods, the fortress is given up: and shortly after, that it should not be a residence of oppression in following times, is demolished and equalled with the ground.

Many of the three estates being here assembled, the times not suiting with other solemnities, at Kelso the peers of the kingdom, in a military pomp, set the crown upon the head of the king, then some seven years old, and give him their oath of fidelity. At their coming to Edinburgh the education and governance of him, and the other children, is committed to the queen their mother; the credence of what could make for

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peace at home, or war abroad, is trusted to **ANDREW STUART** lord **EVENDALE**, the lord **KENNEDY**, earl of **Orkney**, the lord **BOYD** chancellor, the lord **GRAHAM**, the bishops of **St. Andrews**, **Glasgow**, and **Dunkeld**. The civil wars increasing in England, the governors of Scotland, under colour of preserving the bordering countries, sent forth some companies, which upon occasions made roads into Northumberland; and threw down all the fortresses out of which incursions were wont to be made upon the Scottish bounds, most especially the castle of **Wark**: after which ravaging, the winter recalled them home.

The milder parts of the kingdom reduced to order, some turbulent chiefs of the mountaineers taking the occasion of the non-age of the king, and of rumours of dissensions amongst the governors, essay to trouble the peace of their far and wild countries: **ALBAN MACDOUGAL** of **Nether-Lorn** throweth his eldest brother in close prison, with intention to rob him of his life and estate; but he after is surprized by the earl of **Argyle**: **DONALD** of the isles taketh the castle of **Inverness**, and placing there a garrison, proclaimeth himself king of the isles, compelling the neighbour towns and simpler sort of people to pay him taxes. At the rumour of this insolence, all wicked out-laws resort unto him; by whose power he invadeth the castle of **Blair in Athole**, out of which the earl, the king's uncle, with his lady, once countess of **Douglas**, fly and take sanctuary in the church of **St. Bride**, where the church about them, being set on fire, they were irreligiously taken, and transported to the island of **Ha**. Whilst the governors were raising an army, and advancing such forces as were in readiness against the actors of these mischiefs, they were ascertained, that, as these savages were lanching forth of that island in their wherries and small vessels, made of boards and wickers, by a violent tempest from heaven, the most part of them were dashed against the rocks and drowned; and that those who had escaped, were struck with a panic fear, and deprived of their right judgment and understanding: an ordinary accident to men blinded with superstition, and guilty of murder and sacrilege: amidst which distractions,

ons,

ons, the earl of Athole, with his lady, was safely returned to his own castle.

MARGARET queen of England, after the second overthrow, and taking of her husband at Northampton, with the prince her son, and the new duke of Somerset, having fled to the bishopric of Durham (whilst RICHARD duke of York was establishing his title and right to the crown at London) raised in the north, of Scots and English, a strong army, which marched towards York. The duke of York leaving the king in the custody of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, though he knew himself inferior in power and number to his enemies, by the pride of his former victories and the overweening of his soldiers valour, with EDMOND earl of Rutland his younger son, the earl of Salisbury and others, rencountred her at Wakefield-green, and hereby his own rashness, with his son young Rutland, he is killed.

The earl of Salisbury is taken; and with other prisoners beheaded at Promfret castle; their heads were fixed upon poles about the walls of the city of York; that of the duke's was mocked with a paper crown, and exposed to the barbarous mirth of the beholders. The queen encouraged by this victory, desiring to disannul all acts made lately in prejudice of her husband, marcheth courageously towards London: In which time EDWARD earl of March, son to the late duke of York, overthrew the earls of Pembroke and Ormond, both of the queen's faction: at Mortimer-cross in her way to London, the queen meeting the earl of Warwick and the duke of Norfolk at St. Albans, who carried king HENRY her husband along with them, overthrew them, and recovered the person of her king. It is observed that victory always fled from where this king was present. The citizens of London, at the approach of the queen's army fearing hostility, shut their gates against her, and armed for resistance. At this time EDWARD earl of March having joined his victorious army with the remainder of the earl of Warwick's, entered in triumph the city of London, and with great applause and acclamations of the people, was proclaimed king. Queen MARGARET and her faction retiring to the North, war

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to the hearts of that people, that they gathered an army able to stand for her defence, consisting of three-score thousand fighting men: EDWARD earl of March, choosing rather to provoke than expect his enemies, advanced towards them; the place of their meeting was between Caxton and Tewton. In this fight the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the lords BEAUMONT and DACRES, GREY and WELLS, were slain, and above thirty six thousand English struck down: the dukes of Somerset and Exeter fly to York to carry the news to the unfortunate king, leaving the victory to EDWARD, who is again saluted king.

King HENRY after this overthrow, perceiving how desperate his hopes were in his own country, with his queen, his son, and the remainder of his dispersed friends, secured himself by flight into Scotland. JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, to whose person the authority of the state was then reduced, received him with magnificence and honour, and put him in hopes, by the assistance of Scotland, to restore his fortunes. King HENRY, as well to reserve some refuge and sanctuary for himself, as to win the hearts, and insinuate himself into the favour of the people of Scotland, caused render the town of Berwick to them, which the English had violently possessed since the days of EDWARD I. for which favour the Scottish nobility vowed at all times to come to his supply, and defend him to their uttermost: and that the friendship begun might continue without all vacillation, the queens of Scotland and England, both descended of the French race, began to treat of an alliance, promising EDWARD prince of Wales should be married with the lady MARGARET, the king of Scotland's sister, none of them then having attained the years of marriage.

The miseries of King HENRY increasing, suffered not these two queens to stay long together; MARGARET with her son EDWARD, to implore the aid of her friends, maketh a voyage towards France to her father RENEY king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, duke of Anjou, a prince large of titles, short of power. These who had followed king HENRY into Scotland, whilst he is left only intentive to devotion in the cloister of the Gray.

Gray-friars at Edinburgh, return back again to solicit their friends in England for a second encounter. Upon the arrival of queen MARGARET in France, she obtaineth of her cousin LOUIS XI. that those, who favoured and assisted the duke of York, were prohibited traffic, and commanded to remove out of the French dominions, and that five hundred soldiers should come to her aid; a number so small, and so unworthy the name of an army, that it was but a competent retinue for so great a princess. With these she came to the coast of Scotland, and from thence sailed to Pinmouth, where being repulsed by the inhabitants, and forced again to put to sea, she was by a furious tempest driven to Berwick.

Here leaving the prince her son EDWARD, with the increase and supply of some Scots, taking the king her husband with her, she advanced into the bishopric of Durham. In her march through Northumberland, her army increased to a great number; the duke of Somerset, Sir RALPH PERCY, and divers of king HENRY's well-wishers having resorted unto her. King EDWARD, finding king HENRY by the fresh air of the north to have acquired new spirits, prepareth to oppose him, and having sent down the lord MONTAGUE, brother to the earl of Warwick, he himself with greater forces shortly followed. MONTAGUE, having through the shires where he went, and the bishopric of Durham, gathered a convenient army, marched directly against king HENRY. In the mean time, HENRY BEAUFORT duke of Somerset, the lords HUNGERFORD, ROSS, MOULINES, Sir RALPH PERCY, present themselves to hinder his further progress; they are overthrown, and king HENRY with great difficulty escapeth to Berwick. At the news of this overthrow, king EDWARD, being in his march towards Durham, finding the presence of his person, or army needless, turned towards York, and gave the earl of Warwick command to take in all the castles and fortresses which as yet held good for king HENRY in the north.

Amongst the garrisons, placed in Northumberland by the queen, there was a garrison of the French in the castle of Anwick, under the command of PETER BAUCE, otherwise named le Seigneur de la Varoune seneschal

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neschal of Normandy, which held long good against the English. This PETER BRUCE was in great account with CHARLES VII. father to LOUIS XI. and for this was not much liked of LOUIS, but sent over with queen MARGARET to make wrack upon apparent dangers. Having escaped tempests at sea, he took the castles of Bambrough and Dunstanbrough, which he demolished. After he essayed to keep the castle of Anwick, but the earl of Warwick, king EDWARD lying near to Durham, there beleagured him. Whether this man came from the race of the BRUCES of Scotland, or no, is uncertain; for the vulgar writers in this detract him, naming him BRYCE and a BRETON; or that the Scots would give a proof of their friendship to the queen of England, and of their valour to the French; whilst he is every-where beset, and near past hope of relief, the earl of Angus, then warden of the marches, raised a power of twenty three thousand men, and approached the borders, out of which number he made choice of five thousand horsemen, remarkable for their valour. These, about the midst of the day, coming near the castle of Anwick, and by their colours and arms being known afar to captain BRUCE, he taketh a resolution to sally out and meet them; the strongest of the Scottish horsemen receiving them, convoy them safely to their borders; some of the besiegers would have fought in the pursuit, but the English general gave them fair passage.

King EDWARD having taken all the castles and forts which in the north held out against him, placing garrisons in them, returned to London: as king HENRY, void both of counsel and courage, came back to Edinburgh. Here he had not long stayed, when tired with the tediousness of his exile, the prolonging of a wretched life being more grievous to him than death itself, and allured by false hopes of his friends, he resolveth to hazard upon a return to his own kingdom; his crown lost, all his favourers and well-wishers almost slaughtered, he cometh into England; then disguised, and by night-journeys shifting from place to place, at last betrayed by some of his servants, he is found out. It is recorded that a son of Sir EDWARD TAL-

WOT apprehended him as he sat at dinner at Wadding-town-hall; and like a common malefactor, with his legs under the horse's belly, guarded him up towards London. By the way the earl of Warwick met him, who led him prisoner to the tower. MARGARET his desolate queen with her son is driven once again to fly to their father RENEY into France.

KING EDWARD, his competitors being all dead or suppressed, finding a cessation of arms expedient, and a breathing time from war; to settle and make sure his new government, as to other his neighbour princes for peace, so sendeth ambassaders to Scotland, to treat for a truce for some years.

The earl of Argyle, bishop of Glasgow, abbot of Holyrood-house, SIR ALEXANDER BOYD, and SIR WILLIAM CRANSTON, being chosen to this effect commissioners, come to York; and the English commissioners there attending them, a truce for fifteen years is agreed upon, and solemnly by both kings after confirmed.

MARY queen of Scotland, daughter to ARNOLD duke of Guelders, and mother to king JAMES, the projected marriage of her daughter with EDWARD prince of Wales, by the miseries of king HENRY and queen MARGARET her kinswoman proving desperate; her son ALEXANDER, either as he went to the Low-countries to see his grandfather, or returned from him, being by the English taken upon the seas, limited in credence of governing her children by the insolence of a proud nobility, and her reputation branded, after a long languishing with inward discontents, turned, as it were, recluse, and began to bid farewell to this world. Her melancholy growing incurable, amidst her last trances, when her son had come to visit her, she is said to have spoken to him almost to this sense.

"That providence which brought me upon the earth,
"and set a crown on my head, doth now regal and re-
"move me to a better kingdom; and my happiness is
"not in this little, that I leave this life without
"change of that estate in which I peaceably lived.
"Death now sheweth me as in a mirror the frailty of.

"all

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" all worldly pomp and glory, which before by the
 " marble colours of false greatness was overshadowed
 " and covered from me. My griefs have been many,
 " few my contentments: the most eminent of which was
 " the hopes I conceived of you and my other children:
 " and now my greatest regret is, that I leave you be-
 " fore I could see my wishes accomplished towards you.
 " My only care was to have you brought up in all vir-
 " tue and goodness: but heaven shall bestow that
 " charge to more prudent governors: however take
 " these motherly directions from me, who can leave
 " you no better legacy. Be earnest to observe these
 " commandments which are prescribed unto you by re-
 " ligion, for this supporteth the scepters of princes:
 " and a religious king cannot but have obedient sub-
 " jects. What an unreasonable thing is it, that a king
 " will have a people to acknowledge him for their sovereign
 " prince upon earth, and will not acknowledge God for his
 " supreme Lord in heaven? a king who rebelleth against
 " God, all subordinate creatures will rebel against him.
 " Love my children, and laying aside the port and
 " stateliness of a king, receive them with the affection
 " of a brother. Endeavour to make your subjects ob-
 " bey you more out of love than fear: or make your-
 " self beloved and feared both together, seeing love al-
 " one of itself is often the cause of contempt, and fear
 " alone begets hatred. Remember ye govern not this
 " soft effeminate people of the South, but a fierce war-
 " like nation of the North, which oftner use to be in-
 " treated than commanded by their princes. Be spar-
 " ing to lay subsidies on them, which maketh many
 " malecontents; and live upon your own, suffering
 " others to enjoy what is theirs. Beware of flatterers,
 " and exalting undeserving persons above your anci-
 " ent nobility. Suffer not your prerogative to come in
 " question; but foreseeing the danger, rather give way
 " to all that with reason is demanded of you. Mode-
 " rate your passions; he shall never govern a kingdom,
 " who cannot govern himself, and bring his affections
 " within the circle of reason. It fears me, envy and
 " malice arm themselves against you, which to over-
 " come, endeavour to be martial in yourself; for a
 " prince

" prince that is not martial in himself, shall never be
 " freed of rebellion amongst his subjects : a strong arm
 " should hold the ballance of justice." When dissension
 " arise, be not a loiterer and sluggard, but with all
 " celerity suppress it in the infancy. Rebellion is like
 " fire in a city, which should be quenched, though
 " with the pulling down of the neighbouring houses.
 " Others will instruct you in the art of governing, with
 " greater curiosity and wisdom, but not with the like
 " love and affection. I wish this counsel be engraven
 " in your heart and conscience after my death, for a
 " perpetual testimony of my sincerity in your education.
 " And if, by the unjust counsels of others, ye
 " be brought to practise ought contrary to these in-
 " structions, remember ye cannot shun inevitable dan-
 " gers both to your state and person. But now I am
 " warned from above to deliver this grief-full body to
 " the rest of a desired grave."

After she had thus counselled and blessed her son,
 not leaving many days, she was buried with all solemnities
 and funeral rites at Edinburgh in the college of
 the Trinity, which she herself had founded in the
 year 1466.

The king as he encreased in years, increasing in
 strength and ability for exercises either of recreation or
 valour, by the regents is given to a brother of the lord
 BORD to be bred in knightly prowess, a man singular
 for his education abroad and demeanor at home. The
 KENNEDIES were now aged, and become tired to
 give such assiduous attendances at court as they were
 wont, and the times required. The lord BORD by
 the weakness of his co-partners governed the state
 alone, as Sir ALEXANDER his brother did the
 young king; to whose natural inclination he did so com-
 ply and conform himself, that he had the whole trust
 of his affairs, and the king had no thoughts but his. So
 soon as the king began to know himself, he turned im-
 patient of being subject to the laws of minority, that he
 himself should be restrained by that authority which did
 derive itself from him; to loathe the superintendency
 and government of others, and to affect an unseason-
 able privilege to be at his own disposal and the govern-
 ing

ing himself. Many things are done without the advice of the governors, and occasion is sought to be disburdened of their authority. The lord BOYD and his brother in a little time increasing in greatness, and having an intention to transfer the power of the state and glory of the court to their family, fail not to find opportunity to free the king from the severity and rigour of the governor's schooling, and to frame him an escape. Whilst the king remained at Linlithgow, the lord HALLES, lord SOMERVILLE, Sir ANDREW CAR of Cesford, and Sir ALEXANDER BOYD, agree upon a match of hunting, and will have the king umpire of the game. Early the morning following, the gentlemen who were upon the plot failed not in their attendance. The king being a mile off the town, and holding the way towards Edinburgh, the lord KENNEDY, whose quarter then was to attend, and who had leifurely followed, suspecting this hunting to be a game of state, the king continuing his progress, laying his hands upon the reins of his bridle, requested him to turn again to Linlithgow; for that he perceived the time was not convenient for him to go further, neither was he at a convenient match in absence of his best deserving followers. Sir ALEXANDER BOYD impatient that the king should have been thus stayed, after injurious words, struck the reverend governor with a hunting-staff upon the head, and took the king along with him to Edinburgh. At a frequent meeting of the states, the KENNEDIES urged to have the king continue under minority, the BOYDS to take the government in his own person. After long contestations, wisdom being overcome by boldness, the authority of the better party was forced to give place, and yield to the will of the greater. Thus the faction of the BOYDS prevailed.

After this the KENNEDIES full of indignation, and breathing revenge, leave the court; cares, grief and age, about this time, brought JAMES KENNEDY, bishop of St. Andrews to his tomb, which in great magnificence he had raised in a church built by himself in the city of St. Andrews; where also he founded a college of philosophy, and endued it with many privileges.

villeges, and sufficient rents to entertain professors. By the death of this prelate, venerable for his wisdom, singular for his justice, and the tranquillity following his government, and magnificent in all his actions, the glory of the court and country suffered a great eclipse.

For he being taken away, the B O Y D s, laying foundation for their power and greatness, began to turn all to their own advantage. The first mark of their envy was PATRICK GRAHAM, brother of bishop JAMES KENNEDY by the mother, who was sister to king JAMES I. After this man had been chosen bishop of St. Andrews, as the custom then was, by the chapter appointed for that election, he was barred from his place, and violently repulsed by the faction at court. To repair which indignity, he made a journey to Rome, where being a man noble by birth above others for his learning and many virtues, in a little time, by pope SIXTUS the IV. he was re-established and confirmed in his place.

During his abode at Rome, the old question, concerning the liberty of the church of Scotland, began to be exagitated.

The archbishop of York contested, that he was metropolitan of Scotland, and that the twelve bishops of that kingdom were subject to his jurisdiction. PATRICK GRAHAM remonstrated, how the archbishop of York, considering the usual wars between the two kingdoms, was often inaccessible to the church-men of Scotland, especially in causes of appellation. The pope, after the hearing of both parties, erected the see of St. Andrews to the dignity of an archbishop's see; and PATRICK GRAHAM, not only was made primate and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordained to have the other bishops under him, but for the space of three years designed legate for the pope, with full power to correct and restore the ecclesiastical discipline, and examine the manners and conversation of the clergy. Notwithstanding these favours of the bishop of Rome, and the worth and excellencies of the man himself, he dared not return home to his own country before the declining of the fortunes of the B O Y D s.

This family seemed now in the zenith and vertical point
of

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of its greatness. No imputation could be laid to the **BOYDS** in the time of their government, except that they brought the young king by their private working, without the consent and approbation of the other regents to Edinburgh, for the assuming the government in his minority. In approbation of their innocency, and to warrant them from this danger, the king in a parliament declareth publicly, " That the **BOYDS** " were not the authors, nor projectors of that business, " but only the assisters of him and his followers, being " not formal but instrumentary causes of his coming to " the helm of the state himself: that they were so far " from being obnoxious to any blame or reproach for " this deed, that they deserved immortal thanks, and " an honourable guerdon in all time to come, hav- " ing obeyed him in that which was most just, honest " and expedient for the weal of the kingdom." Upon this declaration of the king, the lord **BOYD** required the present action might be registred amongst the acts of parliament; and he obtained what was desired, but not with that success was hoped for.

In this parliament, the other regents are rid of their charge, the lord **BOYD** being made only governor of the kingdom, and the object of all mens respects; having the whole power and authority to minister justice of all kinds to the subjects during the king's non-age, and till he had fully compleated one and twenty years: the defence of the king's person, and of his brothers, and the keeping of the two ladies his sisters, are trusted unto him: he hath all the towns, castles, fortresses, sea-ports, and places of importance at his command. These proceedings of the parliament seemed to some very strange, in advancing men already great enough, and bestowing upon them all offices of state, and adding power to such who wanted only will to do mischief, except that they knew well how to abase and pull them down again, making their fall the more sudden. **ROBERT** lord **BOYD**, having the reins of government in his hands, and the custody of the king's sisters, dazzled with the golden sun of honour, to lay more sure the foundation of his greatness, joineeth in marriage **THOMAS** his eldest son, a youth of extraordinary endow-
ments,

ments, both of mind and body, with MARGARET the king's eldest sister, not long before designed by her mother to have been given in marriage to EDWARD prince of Wales; and he is created earl of Arran. The father knowing how easy the conversation of young persons breedeth a liking, had brought them up together, which turning in a love and delight of others company, concluded at last in marriage. This match, though royal, great and rich, instead of supporting the fortunes of the BOYDS, much weakened them, turning them the objects of envy. The nobles repined at it, and the common people (lighter than the wind, and more variable than the rain-bow) made it the subject of their foolish discourses. Now, said they, the BOYDS aspire to the crown; for the king with his brothers being removed, it appertaineth to them, a kingdom being the dowry often of a wife of the blood royal. The KENNEDIES, and such who disliked the present government, take the occasion of the discontentment of the nobility, and the rumours of the people, to shake the king's mind towards the governon, and change the brawl of state. To this end, they give way to great and universal oppressions, most of which were hatched and occasioned by themselves. By these in a short time, the commons turn licentious and dissolute, contemning all government, every man doing what seemed best in his own eyes, and the gentry divide in factions. Such who wont to live upon rapine and theft, return to their wonted trades: honest men are spoiled of their goods; the seditious and wicked are maintained and defended against all laws and justice by their parties. The state thus troubled, and all order confounded by sly and crafty men, who at first pretended great friendship and interest towards the BOYDS, the king's affection towards them is assailed, and his resolutions tried. Many times having been plausibly listened unto, at last pulling off their masks, they lay imputations against them. They remonstrate to him, "What great disparagement was between the kings of Scotland's eldest sister and the son of the lord BOYD; that by this match he was robbed of one of the fairest jewels of his crown; the BOYDS should not have appropriated that to themselves, of which they had only
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" the keeping; she should have been reserved for some
 " neighbour prince, by which alliance the state of the
 " kingdom, and the person of the king might have been
 " in greater safety: for if the king should chance to be
 " infected by some insolent nobility, the name and power
 " of a neighbour prince were sufficient to keep him
 " safe on his throne, which by this match was endanger-
 " ed. They suggested that the BOYDS built their estima-
 " tion in the air of popular applause, and endeavoured
 " to endear themselves in the opinion of the multitude.
 " A prince is not a lord of that people that loveth ano-
 " ther better than him. Should the BOYDS be accus-
 " ed of peculate and robbing the king and the common
 " treasure, the king might make a prey of their unlaw-
 " ful conquest, and by their attainders reward the ser-
 " vices of many of his necessitous friends, it being ac-
 " quired for the most part by spoils, and the taxing of
 " the subjects unlawfully. The height to which their
 " riches was increased should be feared." The faults of
 all the disorders of the common-wealth are laid up-
 on the BOYDS, as the authors of every breaking-
 out and sedition, that they might the more securely
 possess the places near the king. At this time com-
 plaints from all parts of the kingdom, and by all sorts
 of persons, incessantly being given unto him, advance
 the intentions of their enemies: and the king's mind
 naturally inclined to fears and superstition, being long
 tossed and perplexed, began to turn away from the
 BOYDS, and with their power in some degrees brought
 lower and lessened; preambles of ruin: but he would go
 leisurely to produce this effect, and make one change
 bring forth another.

The king, increasing in years and youthful perturba-
 tions, is counselled for the continuing of his race and
 succession, and the keeping his person without the com-
 mon disorders of the world, to think upon some match
 profitable for his country, and honourable for himself:
 He is courted by many, and courteth others; the duke
 of Burgundy had offered him his daughter, as he had
 done to other princes his friends and neighbours; but
 his mind was not to have her married at all during his
 life-time.

ANDREW STUART lord EVANDALE, then chancellor of the kingdom, with the bishops of Glasgow and Orkney, being sent ambassadors to CHRISTIERN king of Denmark for an accomodation, and taking up some business concerning the isles of Orkney and Shetland, 1469, the quarrel was taken away by a marriage to be celebrated between the king and lady MARGARET, king CHRISTIERN's daughter; a lady thought worthy of his bed, in respect of the excellency of her beauty, her royal descent, and greatness of her birth. All matters being agreed upon, these isles engaged for her dowry, there wanted only an honourable retinue and convoy to bring home the lady. To this negociation, by the craft of some about the king, and vanity of others who gloried to see their friend promoted to such great honour, THOMAS earl of Arran, as a man flourishing in fame and riches, and able to maintain and discharge all magnificence, is deputed as the fittest person. Thus by the ambition and unattentiveness of his friends, his worth was made the scaffold of his ruin, the lamentable condition of men of high desert. In the beginning of the harvest, accompanied with some young noblemen and gallants, most of which were his select friends and well-wishers, he ascendeth his ships. Whilst, as the king of Scotland's brother-in-law, he is some months riotously entertained at the Danish court, the rigour of that Northern climate, by the congealing of the ocean, moored up his ships, and barred all return till the following spring. In this absence of a man so near unto the king, his father and uncle, by age, sickness, and their private affairs, not so frequently haunting the court as they were accustomed, the KENNEDIES, and they of the contrary faction, having shaken the king's affection, and broken these bands (his pleasures, idleness, and vacancy from the public affairs of the state) by which the BOYDS thought they had kept him sure, move him, now a little delighting in action, to proceed to the consideration of such matters as might be objected against the government of the BOYDS. But that this might not appear to be an act of faction, but the universal consent of the kingdom, a parliament was summoned to be holden in November at Edinburgh. Here ROBERT lord BOYD,

with

with his brother Sir ALEXANDER, are summoned to answer in judgment to such points as should be exhibited against them. At the appointed day the lord BOWEN appeared, but accompanied with such a multitude of the common people, and numbers of his friends, vassals, and followers all in arms, with such ostentation and boasting, that the king and courtiers were well pleased to suffer them to dissolve and scatter of their own free wills. At this insolence and malapertness (yet to our own time an usual custom in Scotland) the king conceived such indignation, that he raised a strong guard to attend justice and his commandments, and laid secretly forces to assist these, if the BOWEN should oppose his laws by convocation of the lieges. The lord BOWEN after private intelligence of the minds of the court to blow him up, rather amazed than in choler at the change of his master's mind, fled into England; his brother Sir ALEXANDER arrested by sickness, and relying upon his own integrity more than he ought to have done, considering the malice of his enemies, was brought before the parliament. His brother and he were challenged, *That upon the tenth of July 1446. they laid hands upon the king's person, and against his purpose brought him off the high-way to the castle of Callendar; and that by their private power and consent, contrary to the established order of the state, and the other regents advice, they brought the king to Edinburgh.* When Sir ALEXANDER sought to produce an act of parliament for abolition or approbation of this deed as good service, it was kept up; and he being condemned, had his head cut off. Their other accusations contained the topical faults of favourites, *That they had enriched themselves out of the king's treasure, monopolized things belonging to the crown, diminished the revenues thereof, and removed worthy men from the council, placing such in their room as had dependency upon them.* THOMAS earl of Arran employed in a public charge by the kingdom, absent, and unheard, is declared rebel with his father, and his moveables escheated to the king. To his original faults was added, that he dared marry the king's sister without consent of the states, the king being of non-age. At the noise of this thunder-clap,

ser-*chap*, ROBERT lord BODD left this world at Ant-
wick. No sooner had the spring rendered the Baltic
seas navigable, when the Danish lady with her fleet an-
chored in the Forth: the earl of Arran who was the
paranymph and her convoy, in that general gladness,
by the persuasions of some of his friends, was preparing
to come ashore, and to submit himself to the king's
clemency. But his lady, who had afar discerned his
danger, coming abroad disguised, and giving him parti-
cular information of the calamity of his house, the
weakness of his friends at court, and the many snares,
envy and malice had laid to surprize him, he hoisted
sails, and with her, who would be partaker of all his
misfortunes, returned to Denmark; from Denmark
by Germany he came to king LOUIS in France, who
interposed his requests to king JAMES for his regress
and restoring. But the letters in his favours producing
no effects, CHARLES duke of Burgundy making war
against his rebel subjects, he was graciously received by
him, and entertained as his ally: his lady remained at
Antwerp, where she bore him two children, JAMES
and GRACILE.

Lady MARGARET the 10th of July 1469, or af-
ter others 1470. maketh her entry into Edinburgh, and
scarce having attained the sixteenth year of her age, is mar-
ried to king JAMES in the abby church of Holy-rood-
house; and in the month of November following, by
a convention of the three estates, was crowned queen.

The king inexorable in the behalf of the earl of Ar-
ran, and breathing his total ruin, sendeth letters to Ant-
werp, filled with promises and threatenings, to move
his sister to return to Scotland. These at first prevailed
nothing with this lady to make her forsake the husband
of her youth; many letters, and from several friends
and well-wishers, in several fashions and styles, coming
to her, at last she was brought to believe her presence
would mollify the mind of her enemies, and work her
husband a re-establishment of his former favours with
the king her brother, and restore him to all his posses-
sion and dignities. Upon which hopes she comes to Scot-
land. But these hopes proved all false; for instead of
having access to her brother, she is kept at Kilmarnock,
the

the chief house of the BOYDS, as in a free prison; and her husband is summoned within threescore days to adhere to his wife under pain of divorce. The unfortunate earl, for fear of his head, not appearing, his marriage is declared null; his wife is divorced from him, and is constrained by her brother to marry JAMES lord HAMILTON, to whom also the earldom of Arran was given for a dowry. Not long after, her two children to earl THOMAS, JAMES and GRACIE, are brought to Scotland, who in process of time proved little more fortunate than their father; for JAMES was slain by HUGH MONTGOMERY of Eglinton, and GRACIE, though first married to the earl of Cassils, and after to the lord Forbes, was barren. Some have recorded, that the earl THOMAS, after this violent bereaving him of his wife, died of displeasure at Antwerp, and had a tomb raised over him, with an honourable inscription, by CHARLES duke of Burgundy: others, who hate the BOYDS, tell, he died not at Antwerp but at Florence, and that he was killed by a merchant out of jealousy of having abused his wife.

Queen MARGARET, the third year after her marriage, in the month of March, brought forth a son, who was named JAMES; and CHRISTIERN king of Denmark, to congratulate the happy delivery of his daughter, and of expectation of a continued succession to the crown of Scotland of his race, released all the right, title, and claim, which he or his successors might have to the isles of Orkney and Shetland. The king calleth afterwards a parliament at Edinburgh, wherein though the reformation of abuses, as wearing of silk and other foreign trifles, the building of ships, and enacting laws for the present time were pretended, a liberal subsidy was the greatest aim. His exchequer being empty, and many of his best friends turning necessitous and needy, JOHN lord of the isles was attainted for his own and his father's misdemeanor; the king raiseth forces to pursue him; the earl of Crawford being made admiral, the earl of Athole the king's uncle lieutenant of the regiments by land. Such means in short time was used by the earl of Athole, that the lord of the isles submitted himself to the king's clemency, and in a conventi-

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on of the estates at Edinburgh, he resigned all the right he had to the earldom of Ross, and the lands of Knapdale and Kintyre, which the king annexed to the crown.

PATRICK GRAHAM arch-bishop of St. Andrews, having at Rome understood the fall of the BOYDS, returneth to his own country; where first among his friends, and the most peaceable sort of the clergy, he divulgeth the pope's bull for his supremacy over the other churchmen of the kingdom, and his power of their trial and promoting to benefices; and after caused proclaim it at all public places. The laudable elections anciently used about the places and offices of churchmen, by the corruption of the times, being taken away, and that power altogether assumed by the king; the courtiers, who were accustomed to sell benefices, and the churchmen who were wont to buy them, reject the bull; and set themselves against him; by their traffick he is discharged to take the place or ornaments of an arch-bishop, or carry any other cross or cap than what the former bishops used to have. But here they set not up their rest; WILLIAM SCHEVEZ, a man in those times admired for his skill in astrology, and promoted to be arch-dean of St. Andrews, seconded by JOHN LOCK the rector of that university, a better grammarian than christian, excommunicates this arch-bishop for his presumption, and that he sought to bear rule over his brethren bishops. When this censure had passed upon him, he is degraded and shut up in prison. WILLIAM SCHEVEZ is after promoted to his place, and consecrated upon the passion Sunday in Lent at Holy-rood-house, the king being present: he likewise received the title and faculty of legate, and is confirmed primate of the realm; notwithstanding the impediments objected to PATRICK GRAHAM by the churchmen concerning that same dignity and pre-eminence: So various and deceitful are the ways of men!

The king being slow to action, and more inclined to a solitary form of life, than to travel and business; his brothers being princes of unquiet and restless spirits, to whom public employments were recreations; and withal being ambitious, prodigal, desirous of rule, and to be governors

vernours of the people themselves, and kings in fact, however their elder brother was in title; they set themselves altogether to study novations, and bring the king in contempt with his subjects, and divert their minds and love towards him. To this effect, they had drawn, by their towardness and familiarity, many of the young nobles and gentlemen to follow them. The king was obnoxious to some public scandals; for by his too great frugality, care to increase his treasure, and study of purchasing, by taxations, sale of church benefices, and too exact taking up of fines, and supervaluation of wards; he had gotten the name of covetous, and was in no small distaste among the commons. EDWARD king of England, that the Scots by the instigation of the French, should not trouble his new and scarce settled government, imploying all his counsels and diligence to divide them amongst themselves, wrought not a little on the unquiet spirits of these young men. The duke of Albany, having been taken upon the seas by the English, was honourably entertained by him, and with great hopes sent home; after which time king EDWARD and he kept always private intelligence together. The duke being promoted to the keeping of the castle of Dunbar and town of Berwick; the king of England, to insinuate himself into his affection, was wont to whisper unto such who loved him, that if his brother kept not fair with England, he would one day set him in his place upon his royal throne.

At this time the king was served by men, whom his opinion of their worth and love towards him had advanced to places, and whose fortunes and estates wholly depended upon his safety, and who were less apt to do him harm. His council was likewise of men approved for their affection to him; and thus secluding great men from his familiarity and affairs, he gave them cause of offence. His brothers, long masking their ambition under discontentment, stir the malecontents to complain against the government, which ordinarily falleth forth, not because a people is not well governed, but because great ones would govern themselves. These upbraided the king with inglorious sloth, and endeavour

your by his dishonour to increase the credit of his brothers. These spared not to speak evil of him every where, and what they pleased of his ministers and favorites: they said, "He neither used rule nor moderation in his proceedings; that his council was base, and of men of no great account, who consulted only "to humour him; that a mason swayed a kingdom" (this was ROBERT COCHRAN, a man courageous and bold, first known to the king by his valour in a single combat, and after, from an architect or surveyor of his buildings, preferred to be of his council) "a silly wretch swayed the soul of a great king, and curbed it, as it were, interdicted or charmed to his pleasure. His contributions were the rewards of parasites, to whom fortune, not merit, gave growth and augmentation; that honours wept over such base men who had not deserved them, and the stately frames of ancient houses upbraided with reproaches the slender merits of those new up-starts who enjoyed them; that he began to look downwards into every sordid way of enriching himself; that his privadoes abused him in every thing, but in nothing more than in making him believe, what was plotting against them, was against his person and authority; and that it was not them his brothers and the nobility sought to pull down, but his sovereignty."

His counsellors, servants, and such who loved him, having long busied their wits to save their master's reputation, and that no shadow of his weakness should appear to the common people, understanding by whom these rumours were first spread abroad, and observing many of the nobility and gentry to favour the proceedings of his brothers, not daring disclose themselves to the king what their suspicions made them fear would come to pass, knowing him naturally superstitious, and an admirer and believer of divinations, suborn an aged woman, one morning as he went a hunting, to approach him, and tell, she had by divination, *That he should beware of his nearest kinsmen; that from them his ruin was likely to come.* This was no sooner told, when the woman was shifted, and some who were upon the plot began to comment the prophesy of his brothers.

A professor of physic, for his skill of divination brought from Germany, and promoted to some church-benefice, about that same time told the king. *That in Scotland, a lion should be devoured by his whelps.* WILLIAM SCHEVKEZ, then archbishop of St. Andrews, by way of astrological predictions, put him in a fear of imminent dangers from his kindred, though truly he had his knowledge by geomancy and good informations upon earth, by the intelligence between the nobility and church-men.

Many such like aspersions being laid upon the king, the people cried out, that he had only for his fellow-companions astrologers and sooth-sayers, whom, as occasion served, he preferred to church benefices and bishoprics. PATRICK GRAHAM, then prisoner in Dunfermline, a man desolate and forgotten, as if there had not been such a man in the world, taking the opportunity of the rumours of the time, sent a letter to the king; which contained,

“ That the misery of his imprisonment was not so
 “ grievous unto him as the sad reports which he heard
 “ of his majesty’s estate; he was hardly brought to be-
 “ lieve them, but by his long detention and imprison-
 “ ment, he was assured his great enemy was in great
 “ credit with him. That he had brought the king ve-
 “ ry low in making him jealous of his brothers, by giv-
 “ ing trust to his vain divinations; and no wonder
 “ these arts bring forth dissensions, which have their
 “ precepts from the father of lies and discord. To
 “ foment discord among brothers, was reproachful to
 “ religion, and outrageous to policy; to seek to know
 “ things to come by the stars, was great ignorance,
 “ and that oracles leave a man in a wilderness of folly.
 “ That there was no other difference betwixt necro-
 “ mancy and astrology, saving that in the one, men run
 “ voluntarily to the devil, and in the other ignorantly.
 “ Humanity attains not to the secrets above; and if
 “ it did, it is not wise enough to divert the wisdom of
 “ heaven, which is not to be resisted, but submitted un-
 “ to; that never any had recourse to these arts, but
 “ they had fatal ends; that almighty providence per-
 “ mitted that to befall them out of his justice, of neces-
 “ sity,

“city, which before the oracle was sought, was scarce
“contingent; that he should rest upon the almighty’s
“providence, and then all things would succeed well
“with him, whose favours would waft him out of the
“surges of uncertainties.”

After this free opening of his mind, PATRICK GRAHAM was removed out of Dunfermline to the castle of Loch-levin (a place renowned long after by the imprisonment of MARY queen of Scotland;) where in a short time he left the miseries of this world.

The people now thoroughly deceived and incensed against their king, the most audacious of the nobility had brought his brothers on the way of taking the government to themselves, their power being able to perform what their ambition projected; and the murmuring of the people seeming to applaud any insurrections. The earl of Mar, young and rash, purblind in foreseeing the events of things, is stirred up to begin the tragedy. Some of the nobility of his faction being present, with more liberty than wisdom, he broke out in menacing and undecent speeches, as, *That his brother did wrong to majesty in keeping near him, and being so familiar with such contemptible fellows, as these of his bed-chamber and officers; withal railing against the government of the state and court.* The king, passionately resenting his words, caused remove him from his presence; and he, persevering in his railing, was committed to the castle of Craigmillar, where surmising that he was in a prison, his anger turned into a rage, his rage kindled a fever; and his fever advanced to a phrensy. This sickness increasing, that he might be more near to the court and his friends, in the night he is transported to the Canongate in Edinburgh. The king, compassionate of his disease, sendeth his physicians to attend him; they, to restore his understanding, which was molested, open some veins of his head and arms, in which time, whether by his own disorder and misgovernment in his sickness, the bands being loosed which tied the lancing; or, that they took too great a quantity of blood from him, he fainted, and after swooning, died unawares amongst the hands of his best friends and servants. These, who hated the king, gave out that he was taken away

by his command, and some writers have recorded the same; but no such faith should be given unto them, as to WILLIAM ELPHINSTON bishop of Aberdeen, who was living in that time, and whose records we have followed, who for his place could not but know, and for his possession would not but deliver, the very truth. Certain witches and forcerers being taken and examined, and convicted of sorcery at this time, and being suborned, they confessed that the earl of Mar had dealt with them in prejudice of the king, and to have him taken away by incantation. For the king's image being framed in wax, and with many spells and incantations baptized, and set unto a fire, they persuaded themselves the king's person should fall away as that image consumed by the fire; and by the death of the king, the brothers should reach the government of the state. With such vanities was the common people amused!

ALEXANDER duke of Albany, imputing the death of his brother to the favorites of the king, and avouching them to have been the occasion of his distraction, stirred the nobility and people to revenge so foul a deed. But whilst he keeps private meetings with them of his faction in the night to facilitate their enterprize, betrayed by some of his followers, he is surprized, and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. Out of which, about the appointed time of his trial, by the killing of his keeper he escaped, and in a ship, which to that effect was hired, sailing to the castle of Dunbar, of which he had the keeping, he passed to France. After the escape of the duke of Albany, the lord EVANDALE chancellor of the kingdom, raising the power of the nearest shires, beleagured the castle of Dunbar: the besieged unprovided of victuals, as men expecting no such alterations, betake themselves in small boats to the sea, and came safe towards the coasts of England. The castle, having none to defend it, is taken; some gentlemen in pursuit of the flying soldiers, by their own rashness perished.

The kings of Scotland and England tossed along with civil troubles, and affecting peace with all their neighbours, by an equal and mutual consent of thoughts, send at one time ambassadors to one another, who first conclude

conclude a peace between the two nations; and that posterity might be partakers of this accord, contract afterwards an alliance between the two kings. It was agreed, that the princess CECILIA, youngest daughter to king EDWARD, should marry with JAMES duke of Rothesay, when they came to years of discretion. A motion heard with great acceptance; but it was thought by some familiar with king EDWARD, and in his most inward councils, that really he never intended this marriage, and that this negotiation aimed only to temporize with Scotland, in case that LOUIS of France should stir up an invasion of England by the king of Scotland. King LOUIS at this time had sent one doctor IRELAND a Sorbonist, to move king JAMES to trouble the kingdom of England, and to give over the projected marriage; which when king EDWARD understood, knowing what a distance was between things promised and performed, to oblige king JAMES, and tie him more strongly to the bargain, that this marriage might have more sway, he caused, for the present maintenance of the prince, and as it were a part of the dowry of lady CECILIA, deliver certain sums of money to king JAMES. Notwithstanding which benevolence, the witty LOUIS wrought so with the Scottish nobility, that King JAMES sent ambassadors to the king of England, entreating him not to assist the duke of Burgundy his brother-in-law against king LOUIS, which if he refused to do, the nobility of Scotland, who were now turned insolent, would constrain him, by reason of the ancient league between the French and the Scots, to assist the French.

The duke of Albany, during his abode in France, had married a daughter of the earl of Boulogne (she was his second wife, his first having been a daughter of the earl of Orkney, a lady of great parentage and many friends;) who incessantly importuned king LOUIS to aid the duke for the recovery of his inheritance and places in the state of Scotland, out of which he was kept by the evil counsellors of his brother. LOUIS minding to make good use of his brother, and under-hand increasing discords and jealousies between him and the king of England, slighting his suits, told him, *He could*

not justify his taking of arms to settle a subject in his inheritance; that princes ought to be wrought upon by persuasion, not violence, and he should not trouble a king otherways than by prayers and petitions, which he would be earnest to perform. Upon this refusal the duke of Albany, having buried his duchess, troubled with new thoughts, came to England. King EDWARD, with accustomed courtesies receiving him, giveth him hopes of assistance, entering often in communication with him how to divert the kingdom of Scotland from the invasion of his dominions at the desire of the French, the agents and traffickers of LOUIS lying still in Scotland, and daily bribing and soliciting the Scots nobility to oblige the English to stay at home. The duke freely, and in the worst sense revealed the weakness of his kingdom, "That his king was opinionative, and had nothing of
 "a prince in him but the name: his ungoverned spirit
 "disdained to listen to the temperate counsel of sober
 "men, obeying only his own judgment. Such
 "who governed under him, were mean persons and
 "of no account, great only by his favour, and endowed
 "with little virtue; who ruling as they listed, and ex-
 "cluding all others, made use of his authority for their
 "own profit and advantage. The nobility were male-
 "contents, and affected a change in the government;
 "which might be easily brought to pass by the assistance
 "of king EDWARD. If he would help to raise some
 "civil broils and dissension in the nation itself, he need-
 "ed not to be in fear that they could or would trouble
 "his country by any invasion." The king hearing the duke manifest what he most affected, approving his judgment, promised him all necessaries, and what he could desire to accomplish the design: and he undertaketh by some fair way to traffick with the nobility of Scotland for an alteration of the present form of government. After a dangerous intelligence, the lords of Scotland, who under the shadow of the public good, but really out of their disdain and particular interelts, conspired against the king, sent the duke word, "*The gold-
 "en age could not be framed, nor arms taken for the good of the
 "commonwealth, nor the state altered, without the seques-
 "tering of those from the king who misgoverned him.*" And
 "these

" these could not be removed by that power which was
 " amongst themselves, without great danger and trouble.
 " considerin gthe king's faction and the malignant party.
 " If king EDWARD would agree to the raising of an ar-
 " my in England, in favour of the duke of Albany, and
 " for restoring him to his places and inheritance, out of
 " which he was most unjustly ejected; and other pre-
 " tences, of which they should afford the occasions;
 " which no way should do harm to the kingdom of
 " Scotland, disordered already, and laid waste, more by
 " the licence of a tyrant in peace, than it could have
 " been by war; and at this time bestow upon them fa-
 " vours, as they might one day hereafter challenge to
 " receive the like; the nobility of Scotland should be
 " ready with another army, not to fight, but to seize
 " upon the king's favorites, and misgovernors of the
 " state: for which the English should have many thanks.
 " That this enterprize could not but prove most success-
 " ful, the hatred of the commons considered, against
 " such violent oppressions. The king was fallen into
 " so low esteem, that assaulted by the English, he would
 " be constrained by the submission of his crown to in-
 " treat for safety." The king of England, understand-
 " ing this was to touch the finest string of state and domi-
 " nion (for it is a matter of much consequence and main
 " importance to defend the subjects of another prince; for
 " under this mask and pretence of protecting the liberties
 " of a people, of assistance and aid, an usurpation and op-
 " pression of all liberty might be hidden: and many have
 " established and settled themselves in those kingdoms,
 " which they came to relieve from tyranny, and the op-
 " pression of their rulers, keeping by force what was grant-
 " ed to them at first by way of trust, and under the colour
 " of helping, usurped a sovereignty;) agreeth easily to
 " what was demanded and resolved upon.

The lords of the association, to play more covertly
 their game, and mask their intentions (the commons e-
 ver suffering and paying for the faults and errors of the
 great ones,) give way for the breaking loose of the border-
 ers. Fierce incursions by the English are made upon
 Scotland, and by the Scots upon England; some villa-
 ges on either side are burnt. The secrecy to this bu-

ness, which was inviolably observed, was of great importance, which is the principal knot and tie of great affairs. Rumours are spread, that the dukes of Gloucester, and Albany, with JAMES late earl of Douglas, and ALEXANDER JERDAN, and PATRICK HALYBURTON, men proscribed, and upon whose heads a price was set, were at Anwick with a powerful army, and in their march towards Kelso. The king, awaked out of his trances by the alarms of his nobility, and clamours of the people, maketh proclamations to all between sixty years and sixteen to meet him at Edinburgh, and to be in readiness to oppose their old enemies of England now come upon the borders.

After many delays and much loitering, an army is assembled by the nobility, which consisted of , and a number of carts charged with small ordinance. New incursions being blazed to have been made by the English, the king amidst these troops marched to Lawder. The army was encamped, and all things ordered the best way the occasion could suffer them, little or nothing being left to fortune, if the English should invade, whom the lords knew were not at all yet gathered, and though gathered, and in a body, and upon the borders, or nearer, would never invade them.

The king at this time is marvellously perplexed, and become suspicious of the intentions of his nobility in this army: in this confusion of thoughts, he fell upon two extremes. In his demeanour and conversation too familiar and inward with his old domestic servants and favorites, which rendered them insolent (believing the bare name of king to be sufficient, whilst weakness and simplicity had made him despised, and them hated); and too retired, reserved, and estranged from his nobility, which made them malicious.

This he did, as his pensiveness conjectured, that his nobles should not attempt any thing to the prejudice of his royal authority, independent of any council. But what he most feared came to pass; he resolved and dispatched all matters by his cabinet-council; where the surveyor of his buildings was better acquainted with the affairs of the state than the gravest of his nobility. This preposterous course of favour made the great men
of

of the kingdom to fall head-long upon their rash, though long projected, attempt. After many private conferences in their pavilions, the chiefs of the insurrection, as the earls of Angus, Lenox, Huntley, the lords GRAY, LILE, and others, about midnight came together in the church of Lawder, with many barons and gentlemen. Here every one of them, urging the necessity of the times, and the dangers the commonwealth was like to fall into, requireth speedy resolutions; and having before premeditated, deliberated, and concluded what to follow, they drew up a league and confederation of mutual adherence in this order.

“ Forasmuch as the king suffereth himself to be governed by mean persons, and men of no account, to the contempt of the nobility, and his best subjects, and to the great loss of the commons; the confederates, considering the imminent dangers of the kingdom, shall endeavour to separate the king’s majesty from these naughty upstarts, who abuse his name and authority, and despise all good men; and have a care that the commonwealth receive no damage. And in this quarrel they shall all stand mutually every one to the defence of another.”

The plot agreed upon, and the confederacy sworn, the chiefs of them in arms enter the king’s pavilion; where, after they had challenged him of many disorders in his government, contrary to his honour, the laws and good of his kingdom, they took Sir WILLIAM ROGERS, a man, from a musician, promoted to be a knight, JAMES HOMMIL, ROBERT COCHRAN, who of a surveyor, of his works was made earl of Mar, or, as some mitigate that title, intromittor with, and taker up of the rents of that earldom, by whose device, some authors have alleged, copper-mony had been coined, by which a dearth was brought amongst the commons; which, as others have recorded, was an unjust imputation, for that copper-mony was coined in the minority of the king, in the time of the government of the BOYDS, with others. All these, being convicted by the clamours of the army, were immediately hanged upon the river Lidder. JOHN RAMSAY, a youth of eighteen years of age, by the intreaties, prayers and em-

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braces of the king, was preserved. Thus they, the late objects of envy, were turned and become the objects of pity and compassion. The body of the commons and the gentry of the kingdom, by this notorious act at Lawder, being engaged, and being partakers of the quarrel of the discontented noblemen, and for their own safety tied to second and to assist all their intentions, and to advance their ends, the king is conveyed to Edinburgh, and shortly after he either inclosed himself in the maiden castle, as his lodging, or, which is more probable, was there, by the contrary faction committed as into his prison, the earl of Athole, and some other lords being appointed to attend him.

During this time, the general humour of the kingdom being ripe for mischief, ALEXANDER duke of Albany, every thing falling right as it was plotted, prevailed so with king EDWARD, that the duke of Gloucester, the king of England's brother, with the title of lieutenant-general for him, set forwards toward Scotland. The army consisted of two and twenty thousand and five hundred. In his retinue there went of the nobility, HENRY earl of Northumberland, THOMAS lord STANLEY, and with them was the duke of Albany. The earl of Douglas came not, being reserved for an after-game. The duke of Albany having been before commander of Berwick, and a man who was still in his absence beloved of that garison, diverted the duke of Gloucester from Anwick, where he had encamped in June, to assail the town of Berwick. By his intelligence they enter the town without great opposition, and it is given up to their discretion. The castle by the lord HAILES, then captain, was made good against their assaults. The duke of Gloucester foreseeing that this siege would spend much time, considering the uncertainty of events, and being invited to march forward by the lords of the association of Scotland, committing the charge of assailing the castle to the lord STANLEY, Sir JOHN ELRINGTON, and Sir WILLIAM PARR, with the body of the army marched directly to Edinburgh.

The country lay open to their invasion, and no army taking the field to oppose them, they came into Scotland the twentieth day of August 1482. The army

my encamped at Restalrig, the duke himself entered the town of Edinburgh, which, at the intreaty of the duke of Albany, who was his harbinger, he spared, receiving such presents as the citizens offered unto him: his entry seeming rather a triumph than hostile invasion. The king being shut up from him and immured in the castle, the duke by a public writing at the market places gave out high demands; "That king JAMES should perform what he had covenanted with his brother king EDWARD; that he should give satisfaction for the damage done the English, during the last inroads of the borderers; which if he refused to accomplish, he, as lieutenant to his brother, was to exact of him, and to take satisfaction of his country, denouncing open war, and proclaiming all hostility against him." King JAMES, forsaken of his people, and wronged by his lords, laying aside his passions, and taking to him more moderate and discreet thoughts, as a man in prison, answered nothing to his demands.

The lords, who by their king's misfortune had reckoned their felicity, having obtained what they chiefly desired, to obviate the common and last danger, the thralldom of their kingdom by these strangers whom they had drawn into the country for the recovery of their liberties, assemble themselves together at Haddington with some companies, not to fight but to supplicate. They sent the lord DARNLEY, and the elected bishop of Murray, to intreat a suspension of arms, and require a firm and lasting peace for the time to come. "The beginning of the war, and taking of arms, was for the safety of this the neighbour country of England, miserably thrall'd by a licentious prince: there was nothing more unworthy of a king or republic, than not to keep their promised faith. The English could have have no colour for executing their indignation further upon this country, which already by the rapine of their own men was impoverished and unmanured: only now to be recovered by entertaining peace with their neighbours, and amongst themselves." They required "That the marriage contracted between the prince of Rothesay and lady CECILIA, king EDWARD's daughter, might be accomplished, when it should

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" should please the king of England, and the age of
 " the two princes might suffer it. For any spoil taken
 " in these last incursions, the interest considered upon
 " both sides, satisfaction should be given out of the pu-
 " blic contributions." The duke of Gloucester, as for-
 getting and seeming not to know the grounds of their
 coming into the country, and looking to nothing more
 than his own fame and glory, answered, " His coming
 " into Scotland was to right the honour of his country
 " so often violated; and to restore the duke of Albany,
 " unjustly commanded to exile, to his own native soil,
 " and the dignity of his birth. As concerning the mar-
 riage of the prince of Scotland with the daughter of
 " England, he knew not how his brother's resolution
 " stood at the present; whereupon he required repay-
 " ment of the monys lent to their king upon the first a-
 " greement; and withal a delivery of the castle of Ber-
 " wick up into his hands: or if they could not make
 " the castle to be rendered, they should give their oaths
 " upon the holy evangelists, that they should neither
 " assist the besieged, nor harm the besiegers, till the
 " castle were either by force taken, or upon fair condi-
 " tions rendered.

The lords, having received this answer, yielded free-
 ly to all the conditions, except that they found them-
 selves perplexed in the rendering of Berwick; it being
 a town of old appertaining to the crown of Scotland:
 though by force and violence the English had a long
 time kept it, that did not take away their right and title.
 After much contesting, agreeing to the surrender of
 Berwick, they desired that the walls of the town should
 be demolished, that it might not be a place of tyranny
 and incursion over their bordering countries. No ar-
 guments could prevail against the duke of Gloucester's
 resolutions, and being stronger in power, he persevered
 in his demands; and in all likelihood this was agreed
 upon between the duke of Albany and the confeder-
 ate lords, and the English, before their entering Scot-
 land. Thus the castle and town of Berwick returned
 to the English the 24th of August 1482. after it had
 been delivered by queen MARGARET, to gain san-
 ctuary for her husband king HENRY, when expelled
 England,

England, and remained in the possession of the Scots twenty and one years.

They likewise appointed a day for restitution of all the mony, lent by king EDWARD, and promised upon a full discussion to make satisfaction for all damages done the English by any in-road of the Scottish borderers. For the duke of Albany's provision, whose safety was principally pretended in this expedition, a general pardon was promised for him and all his followers, together with an abolition of all discontents: whereby he had given unto him the castle of Dunbar, with the earldoms of Mar and March; he should be re-invested in all his former dignities and places; and by consent of the nobility of Scotland, he was proclaimed lieutenant of the kingdom.

The peace being proclaimed, the duke of Gloucester in all solemnity of greatness returned towards London, being welcomed by the king with many demonstrations of great joy. He, to show how much he approved the conditions of this peace, went solemnly in procession from St. STEPHEN's chapel, now the parliament-house, accompanied with the queen his sister, and a mighty retinue of the greatest lords, into Westminster hall; where in presence of the earl of Angus, the lord GRAY, and Sir JAMES LIDDLE, ambassadors extraordinary from Scotland, the peace was ratified. At the return of the Scots ambassadors to their country, king EDWARD sent an herald with them, who in his master's name gave over the marriage contracted between the lady CECILIA and the prince of Rothesay, and required the mony, which had been delivered upon hopes of consummation, to his king. The citizens of Edinburgh had given their bond for the redelivery, and a day being granted to them for the payment, they at the appointed day entirely delivered the sum. Some thought king EDWARD recalled this marriage, of a suspicion he conceived, that the ambition of the duke of Albany, and the hatred of the subjects against their king, amidst the manifold distractions of the realm, might hazard the succession of the prince of Rothesay to the crown. But king EDWARD having gained, what he had endeavoured most to acquire, a division amongst the nobles
of

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of Scotland, and by this a security from their assisting the French, rejected the match. Besides the duke of Gloucester, who, after his coming into Scotland, was laying the foundations of usurping the crown of England, his brother once dead, thought the alliance of his brother's daughter with a king of Scotland, too strong a support to that race, which he was to declare bastards, and a rock upon which he was confident, he should make a fearful shipwrack. Neither, his brother's daughter being married to a king of such martial and turbulent subjects as the people of Scotland, durst he ever attempt the taking away of her brothers: and king EDWARD in neglect of this match committed a greater error of state than he did in his marrying the lady ELIZABETH GREY, and forsaking the lady BONA, daughter to the duke of Savoy.

According to the records of some authors, whilst the king is kept nine months in the castle of Edinburgh, the duke of Albany, the lord EVANDALE chancellor, the earl of Argyle, the arch-bishop of St. Andrews, the earl of Athole his uncle (who for the preservation of his person, and honour of his office, accepted the charge to attend him in that fortress) governed the state.

The king, say the honest records, had all honour which appertained to a prince, save that he could not come abroad, and none was permitted to speak unto him, except in the audience of some one of his lords keepers; and that his chamber doors were shut before the setting of the sun, and long after the rising opened. Proclamations are published in his name and authority, and other public writings. Such who only heard of him could not but take him to be a free and absolute prince; when nearly viewed, he was but a king in phantasy, and his throne but a picture; the legal authority being turned into a cloak to cover the passions of those who did govern.

The duke of Albany daily importuned by the solicitations, prayers, and tears of the queen, a calm and temperate lady, for her husband's liberty; finding himself not so respected by the other governors as his birth and merits did deserve; being a man who delighted in nothing more than in changes and novations of court and state;

state; after so many scorns and rebukes offered to his brother and king, commiserating his long sufferings, and believing that good turns would make past offences be forgotten, and that recent benefits were sufficient to blot away old injuries, with all remembrance of former discontents, whilst the other governors at Stirling, securely passed the time, posted in the night to Edinburgh. Here a meeting being appointed of some of his friends and vassals, who knew nothing of his intentions, by the assistance of the citizens of Edinburgh (men intirely loving their king, and devoted to him all the time of the insurrection of his nobles) who gave the first assault, yet was it rather their intelligence than force, the castle is surprized, and the king and all his servants set at liberty. This unexpected and noble act of the duke of Albany, having so fortunate a success, brought a mighty change on the court and state. The king is now again re-instaled, and hath his residence in his own palace, to which many noblemen and gentlemen have frequent concourse; rejoicing to see such evident tokens of love-pass between the two brothers, if their affection could have continued. The provost and bailies of Edinburgh, in recompence of their service, were made sheriffs within all the bounds of their own territories, and rewarded with other privileges contained in that patent, which they call their golden charter 1482. The lords of the contrary faction, who remained at Stirling, by this new accident, betook themselves to new thoughts and considerations, every man full of fears and repinings flying to his own dwelling-place, and conceiving a great hatred against the duke of Albany. They said, *He was inconstant, rash, mad, in setting at liberty the man who would prove his executioner, and one who would never forget any profered injury: that if he perished before them, it was but his own just deserving and procurement.* The duke contemning those reproaches, and answering their calumnies and evil words with patience and good deeds, by the mediation of the earl of Angus, studied a reconciliation between the king and his discontented lords. And his endeavours had such good success, that in a short time after this atonement, some of them turned so familiar and intimate with the king, that,

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that, like the ivy, they began to sap the wall by which they had been supported: they made the wound of the king's old jealousies rankle again, and added poison to former discontents; remembering him of the unnaturalness of his brother's first rebellion, and assuring him, "That his ancient ambition had yet more power over him than his new fears had of honesty and respect. That howsoever he shewed outwardly the arguments of a reconciled brother, he loved yet to govern, and aimed at the crown. That he had wrought his liberty to bring a greater confusion in the state than he had ever done before." The king who ever had a watchful eye over his reconciled enemies, and who desired to be freed and fairly quitted of them all, gave way to their calumnies. And they after long deliberation resolved upon a plot, to bring the duke within the compass of law, and summoned him to answer upon treason. And this was the rendering of the town of Berwick to the English; which they undertook to prove was only by his intelligence, procuration, and being in company with the duke of Gloucester, in that expedition. Though the duke had an absolute and general pardon, and an abolition for all was past, and the king's hand at it, they doubted not to annul and make it void. All being done by a king constrained by a powerful army, and a close prisoner, which writing could not oblige any private man, far less a king; what he then bargained was upon constraint, and yielded unto upon hopes of saving his life, and an act exacted by force. The duke of Albany finding, by the malice and detraction of a malignant faction, his brother's countenance altered towards him; and that danger was the requital of his late setting him at liberty, the established reconciliation being shaken by suspicions and fancy of revenge, obeying necessity, fled to his castle of Dunbar, out of which he came to England, to present to king EDWARD and the duke of Gloucester the consideration of his grievances.

In his absence he is convicted of many points of treason, besides the being accessory to the taking of Berwick by the English. As, "His dangerous and long intelligence with the king of England; his sending of ma-
"ny

“ny messengers at all occasions unto him. That without any safe conduct or pass from his brother, and not so much as acquainting him, he had left the country, and come into England to devise conspiracies against his king and native kingdom.” The lord CREIGHTON, as his friend, associate, and accomplice, is forfeited with him, against whom informations were given, “That often and divers times, under the pretence of hunting, secretly with the duke of Albany he rode into England, and there meeting with commissioners sent by king EDWARD, he deliberated of matters concerning novations and of the altering the state; that there he kept appointments with JAMES earl of Douglas, the often quenched fire-brand of his country: that in spite of the king’s forces sent there to lie in garrison, he kept the castle of Creighton.” The greatest discontent the king conceived against him was love to one of his sisters, and some feminine jealousies. When the duke understood the procedure against himself, and the lord CREIGHTON, and that for their contumacy, and not appearing to answer, and give in their defences, they were convicted of treason, and their lands to be seized upon; he caused give up the castle of Dunbar, of which he was lieutenant, to king EDWARD, who immediately placed by sea a garrison in it.

About this time, EDWARD king of England left this world 1483, and his brother RICHARD duke of Gloucester did first take the name of protector and governor of the kingdom of England, and after his brother’s sons being put in the tower, and their mother the queen taking sanctuary, in the month of June, possessed himself of the crown.

The duke of Albany, finding that RICHARD by his change of fortune had not changed his affection towards him, implored his aid in restoring him to his own, and repairing not his wrongs alone, but a wrong done in his sufferings to the king of England, since there was now an open breach of the truce and peace so solemnly by him set down, and confirmed by his brother. If he could be furnished but with a few number of choice men of reputation and power to pass into Scotland, and take a trial of the minds and good will of his friends and confederates

federates, he doubted not, at his entering the country, to find numbers, who, by his presence, would hazard upon the most desperate dangers.

RICHARD finding the man his supplicant, with whom he endeavoured once an entire friendship, and whose advancement in authority he had most studied, condescendeth that five hundred men and horses should be chosen upon the borders, with others who were outlaws, and necessitated sometime to make incursions, and with JAMES the old earl of Douglas, a man well known and renowned in the west borders, should make an in-road into Scotland.

The two and twenty day of July, the banished champions, having chosen a good number of their borderers, put forwards towards Lochmaben to surprize a fair, spoil a public mercat, seize upon all the buyers and sellers, which here meet and traffick every St. Magdalen's festival. Under pretence of devotion and the liberty of trading many English had hither resorted: at the twelfth hour of the day, when the merchants and country people were in greatest security, the burse is invaded, and not blood but wares sought after. The laird of Johnston who was warden, and the laird of Cockpool, with many stout borderers, having surveyed and ridden through the places where the people were met, to prevent and hinder all disorders and dangers, at the noise of an incursion of the English, dispatch posts to the adjacent bounds for supply; and in the mean time, rencounter the plunderers of the fair. Here it is sought with greater courage than force, and in a long continued skirmish, the danger of the loss stirring up and inciting the parties, as much as fame and glory.

The day was near spent, leaving the advantage to either side disputable, when the supply of fresh men, come to defend their country and friends, turned the fortune of the fight, and put the English borderers all to the rout. The duke of Albany, by the swiftness of his horse, and the good attendance of his servants, winneth English ground; but the earl of Douglas, loaden and heavy with years and arms, is taken by ROBERT KIRKPATRICK, who for that service got the lands of Kirk-michael, and brought as in triumph to Edinburgh.

burgh. It is recorded, that when the earl was come into the king's presence, he turned his back, and refused to look him in the face, considering the many outrages he had perpetrated against his father, and this late offence. The king taken with the goodly personage, gravity, and great age of the man, commiserating his long patience and cross fortune, being in his young days designed to be a church-man, confined him as in a free prison in the abbacy of Lundores.

Besides, he considered, that when occasion served, he might bring him out of this solitariness, and in these turbulent times, by his counsel and presence, play more advantageously his game of state, being a man of long experience in the affairs of the world, and the most learned of all his nobility. He was now become tired of the earl of Angus, the remembrance of his first offence remaining deeply ingraven in his heart; to counterpoise his greatness, this was the only weight. The duke of Albany found little better entertainment in England, the battle being lost, some men taken and killed (this being the first road upon Scotland under the reign of RICHARD, who had been formerly so fortunate in his own person) his fame injured, and reputation by this diminished, the duke began to be disliked of him, and was not received with that kindness he was wont; whereupon by the assistance and convoy of JOHN LIDDALE, he secretly retired to France.

After the road of Lochmaben, sundry incursions are made by the Scots upon the English borders, and by the English upon the Scottish: the campaign ground is scoured, houses are burnt, booties taken, with great loss to both, and little advantage to any of the parties. RICHARD having his reign in the infancy, and not yet settled nor come to any growth and maturity, being obnoxious to the scandal of the murder of his brother's sons, and possessed with fears of HENRY earl of Richmond then remaining in France, who by all honest and good men was earnestly invited to come home, and hazard one day of battle for a whole kingdom, knowing it necessary for the advancement of his designs to have peace with all his neighbour princes, to render himself more secure and safe at home, and terrible to his enemies

mies abroad, sendeth ambassadors to Scotland to treat a peace, or a suspension of arms for some years. King JAMES, no more softly rocked in the cradle of state than RICHARD, chearfully accepteth this embassy; for by a peace he may a little calm the stormy and wild minds of his tumultuous subjects, reducing them to a more quiet fashion of living, and seclude his rebels and banished subjects from entertainment in England, and all places of refuge and sanctuary. The two kings agreeing in substance, commissioners are appointed to meet at Nottingham the seventeenth day of September. For the king of Scotland appeared the earl of Argyle, WILLIAM ELPHINSTON bishop of Aberdeen, the lord DRUMMOND of Stobhall, the lord OLIPHANT, ARCHIBALD WHITELAW secretary, and DUNCAN DUNDASS lion king of arms. For RICHARD of England appeared the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Northumberland, the lord STANLEY, the lord GREY, the lord FITZ-HUGH, JOHN GUNTROPE privy-seal, THOMAS BARROW master of the rolls, and Sir THOMAS BRIAN chief justice.

In the latter end of September these conclude a peace between both realms for the space of three years: the same to begin at the rising of the sun September 29th in the year 1484. and to continue unto the setting of the sun on the 29th of September in the year 1487. During which time, it was agreed, that not only all hostility and war should cease between the two realms, but that also all aid and assistance against enemies should be afforded.

It was agreed, *The town and castle of Berwick should remain in the hands of the English for the space of the foresaid term; with the same bounds the English possessed.*

That all other castles, holds and fortresses, during the term of three years, should remain in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castle of Dunbar only excepted, which the duke of Albany delivered to the English when he left his country. Which castle, for the space of six months, should be exposed to the invasion of the Scots, if they could obtain it, and during the assaulting of this castle, the truce should not be broken. Neither should the English within the castle do any harm to the Scots dwelling there-

thereabouts, except to those who invade the castle, and at that time. And that it should be lawful to any of the parties to use all stratagems, and extend their power either for winning or defending the said castle.

It was agreed, That no traitor of either realm should be received by any of the princes of the other realm; and if any traitor or rebel chance to arrive in either realm, the prince thereof should deliver him upon demand made.

Scots abiding within the realm of England, and sworn there to the king, may remain still, so their names be made known to the king of Scotland within forty days.

If any warden of either realm shall invade the other's subjects, he to whom such a warden is subject shall within six days proclaim him traitor, and certify the other prince thereof within twelve days.

In every safe conduct this clause shall be contained, providing always that the obtainer of the safe conduct be no traitor.

If any of the subjects of either prince do presume to aid and help, maintain and serve any other prince, against any of the contractors of this truce, then it shall be lawful for him to whom he shewed himself enemy, to apprehend and attack the said subject coming or tarrying within any of their dominions.

The colleagues comprehended in the truce, if they would assent thereunto, on the English part, were the king of Castile, the king of Arragon, the king of Portugal, the arch-duke of Austria and Burgundy, the duke of Bretaign. Upon the Scottish part, CHARLES king of France, the king of Denmark and Norway, and the duke of Guelderland. This treaty was appointed to be published the first of October in all the great and notable towns of both realms.

It was agreed, That commissioners should meet at Lochmaben the 18th of November, as well for redress of wrongs done on the west marches, as for declaring and publishing the peace, where the greatest difficulty was to have it observed.

RICHARD, after this truce, intreated a marriage between the prince of Rothefay, eldest son to King JAMES, and lady ANNE DE LA POOL, daughter to JOHN duke of Suffolk by his sister. To this effect ambassadors meet at Nottingham, others say at York, and it is concluded

ed. Writings thereupon being drawn up, ingrossed and sealed, and affiances made and taken up by proctors and deputies of both parties, lady ANNE thereafter was stiled the princess of Rothesay. But by the death of her uncle she enjoyed not long that title.

After the league and intended marriage, king JAMES wrote friendly letters to RICHARD concerning the castle of Dunbar, whether he could be content that the same should remain only six months in the power of the English, or during the whole space of the truce? That he was not minded to seek it by arms during the term of the whole truce. Notwithstanding he earnestly required it out of the bond of love and friendship between them; since it was given unto the English by treason, and neither surprized nor taken in lawful war, it might be friendly rendered. RICHARD dallied with him, and passed away that purpose with complementing letters all the time of his government, which was not long. For in the year 1486, HENRY earl of Richmond came with some companies out of France (of which that famous warrior BERNARD STUART lord AUBIGNY, brother to the lord DARNLEY in Scotland, had the leading) which by the resort of his country-men turned into an army, and rencountered RICHARD at Bosworth, where he was killed, and HENRY proclaimed king of England: to which victory it was uncertain whether virtue or fortune did more contribute.

ALEXANDER duke of Albany, before this disaster of RICHARD, at a tilting with LOUIS duke of Orleans, by the splinter of a spear in his head had received his death-wound, 1483. He was a man of great courage, an enemy to rest and peace, delighting in constant changes and novations. He left behind him two sons, JOHN duke of Albany, begotten of his second marriage upon the earl of BOULOGNE's daughter, who was tutor to king JAMES V. and governor of Scotland, and ALEXANDER born of the earl of Orkney's daughter his first wife, bishop of Murray and abbot of Scoon: into which places he was intruded, to make the government of his other brotlier more peaceable.

MARGARET the queen about these times, a good
and

and virtuous lady, died 1486. and was buried at Cambuskenneth, the 29th of February.

The overthrow and death of RICHARD being known abroad, king JAMES, taking the advantage of the time, besieged the castle of Dunbar. The garrisoned soldiers finding no relief nor assistance from their country, and ascertained of the change of their master, rendered up the fort into the hands of the Scots; it was of no great importance to the English, and only served to be a fair bridge of treason for Scottish rebels, and a citadel of conspiracies.

HENRY king of England, after his victory and coronation, sent RICHARD FOX bishop of Exeter, and Sir RICHARD EDGECOMB ambassadors to king JAMES, for the renewing the truce, and if it were possible, to agree upon a stable and lasting peace between the realms. King JAMES taking a promise of the secrecy of the ambassadors, that what he imparted to them, should not be laid open to his nobility, told, "He earnestly affected a peace with all his neighbours, but above all others with their king, as much for his own valour, as for the honour and interests of the two kingdoms: but he knew his people so stubborn and opposite to all his designs, that if they understood his mind and resolutions, they would endeavour to cross his intentions; wherefore publickly he could only condescend to seven years truce, a long peace being hardly obtained from men brought up in the licence of war, who disdained to be restrained within the narrow limits of laws. Notwithstanding they should undertake for him to king HENRY, in the word of a prince, that this truce, before the expiring of it, should be renewed, and with all solemnities again confirmed.

The ambassadors, respecting his good-will towards their king, accepted the conditions. Thus was there a truce or peace covenanted and confirmed for seven years to come between the two realms.

After so many back-blows of fortune, and such canvassing, the king, enjoying a peace with all his neighbours abroad, became exceeding religious; the miseries of life drawing the mind to the contemplations of what shall

shall be after it. During his residence at Edinburgh he was wont to come in procession from the abby of Holyrood-house to the churches in the high-town every Wednesday and Friday. By which devotion he became beloved of his people: nothing more winning their hearts than the opinion they have of the sanctity of a person. And that he did not this for the fashion nor hypocritically, the application of his wit and power to the administration of strict justice did prove: for he began to suppress the insolencies of strong oppressors, defend and maintain the rights of the poor, against tyrants and abusers of their neighbours. He sitteth himself in council daily, and disposeth affairs of most weight in his own person.

In the month of October, following the peace with England, 1487, a parliament was called, in which many acts were made against oppressors: justices were appointed to pass through the whole kingdom, and see malefactors deservedly punished. Acts were made, that no convention of friends should be suffered for the accompanying and defence of criminal persons: but that every one attainted should appear at the most with six proctors; that if found guilty, they should not be rest from justice by strong hand. Such of the nobility who feared and consequently hated him, finding how he had acquired the love of his people by his piety in the observance of religion, and his severity in executing justice, were driven unto new meditations. They began to suspect he would one day free himself from these turbulent spirits who could not suffer him to enjoy a peace, nor reign. He had advanced at this time to offices of state and places, men whose fortunes did wholly depend upon his safety and welfare: at which some noblemen, whose ambition was to be in public charge and of the council, pretending to that out of right, which was only due unto them by favour, did highly storm, and look upon those others with envious eyes. The king thus falling again into his old sickness, they bethought them how to renew their old remedy. They were also jealous of the remembrance of the disservice they had done him, and that he would never forget old quarrels; they were prepared and ready to make a revolution of the state,

state, but had not yet found their center to begin motion, nor a ground for rebellion. All this while there was not matter enough for an insurrection, nor to dispose the people's hearts to a mutiny.

The king, delighted with his buildings of the castle of Stirling, and the amenity of the place, for he had raised there a fair and spacious hall, and founded a college for divine service, which he named the chapel royal; and beginning to be possessed and taken up with the religion of these times, endeavoured to endow this foundation with constant rents and ample revenues, and make this rock the choice sanctuary of his devotions. The priority of Coldingham, then vacant and fallen in his hands, he annexed the same to his chapel royal, and procured an act of parliament that none of the lieges should attempt to do contrary to this union and annexation, or to make any impetration thereof at the court of Rome under the pain of treason. The priors of this convent having been many years of the name of HUME, it was by the gentlemen of that name surmised, that they should be interested, and wronged in their estates, by reason of the tithes, and other casualties appertaining to this benefice, if a prior of any other surname were promoted to this place. The king being often petitioned and implored, that he should not alter the accustomed form of the election of that prior, nor remove it from their name, nor suffer the revenues to be otherways bestowed than they were wont to be of old; and he continuing in his resolution of annexing them to the chapel; after long pausing and deliberation amongst themselves, as men stirred up by the malecontents and a proud faction, fit for any the most dangerous enterprise, they proceed upon stronger grounds to overturn his intentions and divert his purpose. The lord HAILES, and others of the surname of HEPBURN, had been their constant friends, allies, and neighbours; with them they enter into a combination, that they should mutually stand to the defence of one another, and not suffer any prior to be received for Coldingham, if he were not one of their two surnames. This covenant is first privately by some mean gentlemen sworn, who after draw on their chiefs to be of the party. Of how small beginnings

doth a great mischief arise! The male-contented lords, knowing these two surnames to be numerous, active, and powerful in those parts of the country where they remained, lay hold upon this overture, and beginning from their particulars, they make the cause to be general; they spread rumours abroad, "That the king was become terrible and not to be trusted; notwithstanding all his protestations and outward demeanor, that he yet meditated revenge, and had begun to invade and shake the ancient privileges of the Humes, more out of spite and discontent against them for having assisted and followed the lords of the reformation of the state, than any intention of the increasing the rents of his new erected chapel. That ere long he would be avenged upon all whom he either knew were accessory, or suspected to have been upon the plot of Lawder bridge, or his commitment in the castle of Edinburgh; that it was sometime better to commit a fault unpardonable, than venture under the pardon; that the king had taken a resolution to live upon the people's contributions, and give his own revenues to particular men. The faults of his counsellors are highly exaggerated; they were base persons, and he himself given to dissimulation, misdevotion, and revenge; as occasion served he would remember old wrongs: it was good to obey a king, but not to lay the head upon a block to him, if a man could save himself."

After a long smother of discontent and hatred of the nobility and people, rancour breaking daily forth into seditions and alterations; the lords HUME and HAILES being the ring leaders, many noblemen and gentlemen under feigned pretences, especially the courses of swift horses, keep frequent meetings; where they renew their covenant agreed upon at Lawder church, the necessity of the times and the danger of the commonwealth requiring it, and gave their oaths, that at what time soever the king should challenge them directly or indirectly, or wrong them in their rights, possessions, places, or persons, they should abide together as if they were all one body, espouse each other's quarrels; and the wrongs

wrongs done to any one of them should be done to them all.

When the king understood the confederacy of the lords, to anticipate the danger, he made choice of a guard for the preservation of his person and servants, of which he made JOHN RAMSAY of Balmain, a man whom he had preserved at Lawder, and advanced to be master of his household at court, captain; giving him a warrant not to suffer any man in arms to approach the court by some miles. This, instead of cooling, exasperated the choler of the malecontents, and stirred them to assemble with numerous retinues all in arms. The king scarce believing the minds of so many were corrupted, and persuading himself the authority of the public name of a king would supply the want of some power, summoned certain of them upon forty days to answer according to law.

Of those some rent his summons, and beat shamefully his heralds and messengers for discharging their offices: others appeared, but with numbers of their adherents, friends, allies and vassals. And here he found, that the faults of great delinquents are not without great danger taken notice of, and reprehended: he used some stratagems to surprize the heads and chiefs of their faction; but unadvisedly giving trust to the promises of those who lent their ears, but not their hearts to his words, his designs were discovered before they produced any effect: his secrets all laid open to his great hatred and disadvantage, the discoverers taking themselves to the factious rebels, and cherishing unkind thoughts in all whom they saw distasteful with his government. Perceiving himself betrayed, and his intentions divulged, he remained in great doubt to whom he should give credit. The nature and manner of all things changed by the league of the confederates, he thought it high time to remove a little further from that torrent which might have overwhelmed him, and made them masters of his person. To temporize and win time, he caused furnish the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, with provision of victual, ammunition, and garrisons to defend them from the dangers of war; he resolved to make his abode beyond the river of Forth, and to leave the South

parts of the kingdom. After which deliberation, he entered a ship of Sir ANDREW WOOD (a famous navigator and stout commander at sea) which pretended to make sail for the low-countries, and was lying at anchor in the Forth. These who saw him aboard spread a rumour that he was flying to Flanders. The lords of the insurrection, making use of this false report, seized on his carriage in the passages towards the North, rifled his coffers, spoiled his servants of their stuff and baggage. And then after certainty that he was but landed in Fife, and from that was in progress to the Northern parts, preparing and directing his good subjects to be in readiness to attend him at his return, they surprized the castle of Dunbar. The money found in his coffers hired soldiers against him, and the harness and weapons of his magazines arm them. Having gathered some companies together, tumultuously they over-run the countries upon the South of the Forth, rising and plundering all men who went not with them, or whom they suspected not to favour their desperate and seditious ends. In his progress the king held justice courts at Aberdeen and Inverness, where WILLIAM lord CREIGHTON, not long before forfeited with the duke of Albany, submitted himself to his clemency, and was received into favour and pardoned: after which grace he shortly left this world. Whilst the king in the North, the lords in the South are making their preparations; when they were assembled at Linlithgow, they find themselves many in number and strong in power, the success of their proceedings being above their hopes. There only wanted a man eminently in esteem with the people, and noble of birth, to give lustre to their actions, shadow their rebellion, and be the titular and painted head of their arms. When they had long deliberated upon this great man, they assented all that there was none to be paralleled to the prince of Rothesay, the king's own son. So strongly providence befools all human wisdom and foresight! His keepers being corrupted by gifts, pensions, and promises of divers rewards, he is delivered into their hands; and by threats, that they would otherwise give up the kingdom to the king of England, he is constrained to go with them. To height-
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en the hatred against the king, and the chofelier to deceive the people (for the love of subjects is such towards their natural kings, that except they be first deceived by some pretence and notable sophism, they will not arise altogether in arms and rebel) they make proclamations, and by their deputies, by way of remonstrances, spread abroad seditious papers, (in what a sea of blood would these men launch into!) "That all true subjects should come in defence of the prince, and take arms; because his father's jealousies and superstitious fears were risen to that height, that nothing but his son's death or imprisonment could temperate them. That he was raising an army to take his son out of their hands, that he might do with him as he had done with his own brothers; that force was the only means to work his safety, and keep the plotters of this mischief within bounds. They also should take arms to reduce the government to a better form, for that the kingdom was oppressed with insupportable grievances; the king being altogether given to follow the advice, projects and counsels of base men; to amass and gather great sums of money from his people, upon which he studied to maintain his court and state, and give away his own."

When this engine was prepared for the people, and spread abroad, they sent to the earl of Douglas, then closely as a monk shut up in the abbey of Lindores, to come out, be of the party, and assist them with his counsel and friends, promising, if their attempt had happy success, to restore him again to his ancient possessions and heritage, former dignities, and the places of honour of his ancestors. The earl, whom time and long experience had made wary and circumspect, having a suspicion, that the earl of Angus, who possessed the greatest part of his estate, had been the chief motioner of this liberty, and that rather to try what he would do, than that he minded really to set him free, refused to come out of his cloister; and by his letters dissuaded them from their bold enterprize against their prince; wishing they would set his house and himself for a pattern and president of rebellion. He sent to all such of his friends, whom his disasters had left unruined, to

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take arms for the king, as the DOUGLASSES of Ca-
vers and others.

The king neither losing courage nor council, for the greatness of the danger of the rebellion, trusting much to his good fortune, with such forces as came with him from the North, in captain WOOD'S ships, and other boats and vessels prepared to that end, passeth the Forth near Blackness, an old fortress and sea-port in West Lothian, not far from the castle of Abercorn, and that place where the forces of the earl of Douglas left him, and the king his father obtained so harmless a victory. Before the arrival of the king at this place, the earl of Glencairn, lords GRAHAM, MAXWELL and RUTHVEN, with others, advertised by letters of the rendezvous, had come to the place, had encamped, and were attending him. And he mustered a sufficient army to encounter the lords of the association, who from all quarters were assembled, having with them the prince to add authority to their quarrel. The two armies being in readiness to decide their differences by a battle, the earl of Athole the king's uncle so travelled between the lords of either party and the king, that a suspension of arms and reconciliation was agreed upon: and the earl of Athole rendered himself a pledge for the accomplishing of the king's part of the reconciliation, to the lord HAILES, and was sent to be kept in the castle of Dunbar.

This was not a small fault of this prince: the confederate forces were not at this time equal to his, neither had they essayed to hinder the landing of his army, being but in gathering; the castle of Blackness was for his defence, and his ships traversing up and down the Forth, in case of necessity, for succour. That if he had hazarded a battle, he had been near to have recovered all that reputation he had before lost. Now upon either side some common soldiers are disbanded, some gentlemen licensed to return to their own dwelling-places. The king in a peaceable manner retireth to the castle of Edinburgh. The earl of Athole was now removed from him, and many of the other lords who loved him returned to their houses; the counsel of man not being able to resist the determinations of God. The
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lords suspecting still the king to be implacable in their behalf, and unaccessible in his castle, keeping the prince always with them, entering upon new meditations, hold sundry meetings how to have his person in their power, and make him a prey to their ambitious designs. The town of Edinburgh is pestered with troops of armed men, and the villages about replenished with soldiers. The king warned of his danger, fortifies of new the castle of Edinburgh for his defence, and is brought to such a tameness, that resolving to do that with the love of every man, which he feared in end he should be constrained unto, with the universal hatred of all, and his own damage and danger, out of a passive fortitude sent commissioners, indifferent noblemen, to the lords and his son, to understand their intentions, and what they meant: "Why his son was kept from him, and continued the head of their faction? Why his uncle was so closely imprisoned, and himself, as it were, blocked up by their tumultuous meetings in arms? He was content they should have an abolition of all that was past, that their punishments should not be infinitely extended, and that they should think upon a general agreement after the best and fittest manner they could devise and set down." They, finding their offence flew higher than hopes of pardon could ascend unto, their suspicions, and the conscience of their crime committed, breeding such a distrust out of an apprehension of fear, answered, "That they found no true meaning. Open war was to be preferred to a peace full of deceit, danger and fears; that being assured he would weave out his begun projects against them, they could not think of any safety, nor have assurance of their lives nor fortunes, unless he freely resigned the title of his crown and realm in favours of his son, and voluntarily deposed himself, leaving the government of his people and kingdom to the lords of his parliament, divesting himself wholly of his royal dignity. Neither would they come to any submission or capitulation, until he consented to this main point, and granted it submissively."

King JAMES, notwithstanding of this answer, after a clear prospect of the inconveniences and mischiefs

which were growing, and the many injuries, indignities, and affronts put upon him, yet really affecting a peace, sought unto HENRY king of England, as also to the pope, and king of France, to make an atonement between him and his subjects. The kings accordingly interposed their mediation in a round and princely manner, not only by way of request and persuasion; but also by way of protestation and menace, declaring, "That they thought it to be the common cause of all kings, if subjects should be suffered to give laws unto their sovereign; a legitimate king, though a tyrant, was not subordinate to the authority of subjects. JAMES was not a tyrant, his errors proceeding most part from youth and evil counsel; that, suppose the king had done them wrong, it was not wisely done, for a desire of revenge, to endanger their particular estates, and the peace and standing of the whole kingdom. What state was there ever so pure, but some corruption might creep into it? That they should be very cautious how they shook the frame of monarchical government too far; that they would accordingly resent and revenge it." Rage prevailing against reason and fears, the lords made that same answer to these ambassadors which they had sent to the king himself before. As for the pope's embassy, which, being sent by ADRIAN DE CASTELLO an Italian legate, was coming, the lords fearing the danger of it (for in those times it might have drawn the most part of all the towns and the commons, for fear of ecclesiastical censures, to have adhered to the king, or stood in an indifferency) made all possible haste, before it should have been delivered, to make head against their sovereign, and decide their quarrel in a battle: URBAN IV. armed HENRY III. king of England against all those that would not return to their due and old obedience to him, and against all his disloyal subjects.

The king was in a strong fort, and if he had remained still there, matters in a little time had fallen forth more to his wishes, and his enemies might have been brought to a submission: for his good subjects of the North, as the FORBESSES, OGILBIES, the GRANTS, FRAZERS, MELDRUMS, many of the GORDONS,

KEITHS,

KEITHS, and others, who, adhered to him out of affection and duty, were advancing towards him. But whether misinformed or betrayed by some of his own, who made him believe that unless he could command the country about Edinburgh, the castle was of no such importance as was the castle of Stirling for him, in consideration of the passage over the river of Forth at a bridge for those who were coming to his aid: the lords of the association counterfeiting a retreat, and dispersing themselves in the country, that they might draw him from that hold, he rashly and unadvisedly issued out of the castle, and left his beloved town of Edinburgh. The earl of Glencairn, lords GRAHAM, MAXWELL, and RUTHVEN, accompanied him to Blackness. His forces here encreasing, he marched toward Stirling, the rendezvous and destined place of meeting for all his loyal subjects; there he displayed his royal standard: here the perfidious constable, an unparalleled example of ingratitude, who had betrayed the son, in an hostile manner, kept the father out of his own castle, cannons mounted, pistols cockt, and levelled at him, and exposed him a prey to his rebels. In the amazement and deliberation what next to go about, being thus shut out of his castle, tidings came to him, that the confederates were come near to Falkirk, a little town six miles Eastward from Stirling. That his army should not be discouraged by this unexpected accident, trusting to his right and present power, being more stout than prudent, he resolveth to set all upon the hazard of a battle. The confederates had passed the Carron, a river under Falkirk, and were encamped above the bridge near the Torwood: The king set forward with his army upon the other side of the Torwood, near a small brook named Sawchy-burn. This field is a plain not far distant from that of Bannock-burn, where king ROBERT BRUCE overthrew the great army of EDWARD of Caernarvan. Here both armies advance forward in battle array.

The lords ranged their host in three squadrons; the van-guard was led by the lords HUME and HAILES, and their friends, consisting of East Lothian and Merse-men; the middle ward was composed of the Liddesdale,

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Annandale, Ewisdale, Teviotdale, Tweddale, and Gal-loway-men : the main battle was of West Lothian-men, where most of the lords were, and amongst whom the prince was kept. In the king's army, the earl of Montteith, lords **ERSKINE**, **GRAHAM**, **RUTHVEN**, and **MAXWELL**, commanded the van-guard. The left wing which consisted of Westland and Highlandmen, was committed to the earl of Glencairn. The lords **BOYD** and **LINDSAY**, and the earl of Crawford, commanded in the rear or great battle, amongst whom was the king armed from head to foot upon a great courser, easy to be known and discerned from the rest. The first charge is valiantly given, and lance meeting with lance, the van-guard of the lords began to yield ground, and was strongly repulsed. But the next charge being given by the Annandale-men and the rank-riders of the borders, the middle ward of the king's army is beaten back to the main battle. Notwithstanding which it is fought a-while with marvellous obstinacy and great hardiness and assurance, until the standard royal was beaten down, and those who had defended it were slain, the violence of the bickering being mostly where it was planted. The king's army now beginning to bow, not being sufficient to resist the numbers of fresh assailers, the horse-men, obeying no direction, turned their backs. In this rout and confusion of horse and foot, the king, seeking to retire towards the river of Forth, where not far off some boats and the ships of Sir **ANDREW WOOD** attended the fortune of battle, by the fall of his horse, in leaping a ditch, being sore bruised, was carried by such who knew him not to a mill at Bannock-burn. The day was now the confederates, and wrong had prevailed against right, when the prince of Rothesay, amazed at the noise and clamours of the flying and following soldiers, and in suspicion of the worst, gave out express and strait commandment, with threatenings to the disobeyers, that none should presume to pursue his father, nor others in the chase. Notwithstanding which, he was followed and killed in a mill in cold blood. These who followed him were the lord **GREY**, **ROBERT STIRLING** of Keir, and Sir **ANDREW BORTHWICK** a priest, whom
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same reporteth, after shriving, to have stabbed him with a dagger.

The ensigns taken, the army dissipated and put to flight, and the baggage rifled, the death of the king being rumored through the armies, the victors turned slow in the chase, and gave field-room to all that would fly, no severity being used against any found unarmed; for the lords of the association pursued the king, not the people. The discomfited fled towards Stirling; the victorious retired to their camp, and the next morning to Linlithgow. On the king's side, ALEXANDER CUNINGHAM earl of Glencairn was slain, and, as some have recorded, the lords ERSKINE, SEMPLE, and RUTHVEN, JOHN RAMSAY of Balmain, created earl of Bothwell, and his chief favorite, with their friends and vassals; the laird of Innes, ALEXANDER SCOT director of the chancery, with some noblemens friends and vassals. Many were hurt, who recovered of their wounds: and this battle seemed rather a brave encounter and meeting of launces in some lists, than a field of great deeds of arms; and the victory was obtained rather by disorder, and the rashness of the vanquished, than by the valour of the victorious. This battle was fought the year 1488. the eleventh day of June, which is the festival of St. Barnabas, the 29th year of the reign, and 35th of the age of this king. He had issue JAMES IV. who succeeded, ALEXANDER arch-bishop of St. Andrews, and JOHN earl of Mar. The conspirators with all funeral rites and royal pomp, as in expiation of the wrongs they had done him living, near his queen in the abby church of Cambuskenneth, buried his body.

This king, as to his personage, was of a stature somewhat higher than ordinary, well proportioned; his hair was black, his visage was rather long than round, approaching in colour more to those in the Southern than Northern climates. As to his conditions, he was a prince of an haughty and towering spirit, loved to govern alone, affecting an absolute power and royal prerogative over his people. He knew that noblemen were of his predecessors making, as the coin, and why he might not put his stamp upon the same metal, or when these

these old medals were defaced, that he might not re-found them, and give them a new print, he thought no sufficient reason could be given. His reign seemeth a theatre spread over with mourning, and stained with blood, where in a revolution many tragedies were acted. Neither were the neighbour kingdoms about in a calmer estate during his reign. France under LOUIS XI; England under HENRY VI. EDWARD IV. and RICHARD the usurper; Flanders and Holland under CHARLES the warlike; ARNOLD duke of Guelders was imprisoned by his own son: As if the heavenly influences were sometimes altogether set to produce upon this ball of the earth nothing but conspiracies, treasons and troubles, and for the wickedness of the inhabitants, to deprive them of all rest and contentment.

This king is by the most condemned, as a rash, imprudent, dangerous prince: good people make good kings. When a people run directly to oppose the authority of their sovereign, and assume rebellion and arrogancy for obedience, resisting his fairest motions and most profitable commandments; if a king be martial, in a short time they are beaten and brought under; if he be politic, prudent and foreseeing, in a longer time, as wild deer, they are surprized, and either brought back to their first order and condition, or thrall'd to greater miseries. If he be weak and suffer in his reputation or state or person by them, the prince who succeedeth is ordinarily the revenger of his wrongs. And all conspiracies of subjects, if they prosper not in a high degree, advance the sovereignty. This prince seemeth not to have been naturally evil inclined, but to have been constrained to leave his natural inclination, and necessitated to run upon precipices and dangers; his turbulent subjects never suffering him to have rest. Many princes who in the beginning of their reigns have been admired for their fair actions, by the ingratitude of their subjects have turned from one extremity to another, and become their rebellious subjects executioners. He was provoked to do many things by the insolence of private men: and what some call tyranny and fierceness in a prince, is but just severity.

city. He sought to be feared, believing it to be the only way to obedience. It is true, injuries took such deep impressions in his mind, that no after-service could blot them away. The taking away of his favorites, made him study revenge, which if he had not done, he had had too much of the stoical virtues, little of the heroical.

These who blame princes, under a pure and absolute monarchy, for having favorites, would have them inhumane, base and contemptible, and would deprive them of power to confer favours, according to the distinguishing power of their understanding and conceptions. The choice a prince maketh of men whom he advanceth to great employments, is not subject to any man's censure. And were it bad, yet ought it to be passed over, if not approved; lest the discretion and judgment of the prince be questioned, and his reputation wounded: favorites are shrines to shadow princes from their people. Why should a people not allow a prince some to whom he may unmask himself, and discover the secrets of his heart? If his secrets should be imparted to many, they would be no longer secrets. Why should it be imposed on a prince to love all his subjects alike, since he is not beloved of them all alike? This is a desire to tyrannize over the affections of princes, whom men should reverence.

He seemeth too much to have delighted in retirement, and to have been a hater of business; and that he troubled not himself with any but for formality's sake, more desirous of quietness than honour. This was the fault of the governors of his youth, who put him off business of state, that they might the more easily reach their own ends, and by making him their shadow, govern after their pleasure. Of this delight in solitariness, his brothers took their advantage, and won the people to their observance.

He was much given to buildings and training up of chapels, halls and gardens, as usually are the lovers of idleness; and the rarest frames of churches and palaces in Scotland were mostly raised about his time: an humour, which though it be allowable in men who have
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not not much to do, yet it is harmful in princes; as to be taken with admiration of watches, clocks, dials, automates, pictures and statues. For the art of princes is to give laws, and govern their people with wisdom in peace, and glory in war; to spare the humble, and prostrate the proud.

He is blamed of avarice, yet there is no great matters recorded of it, save the encroaching upon the dealing, and taking the giving to whom he pleased of church benefices, which, if he had lived in our times, would have been held a virtue. He was of a credulous disposition, and therefore easy to be abused, which hath moved some to record, he was given to divination, and to inquire of future accidents; which, if it be credible, was the fault of those times. EDWARD IV. of England is said to have had that same fault, and that by the misinterpretation of a prophecy of a necromancer, which foretold that one, the first letter of whose name was G, should usurp the kingdom, and dispossess the children of king EDWARD, he took away his brother GEORGE duke of Clarence; which being really practised in England, some Scottish writers (that a king of Scotland should not be inferior in wickedness to any of his neighbour princes) without grounds have recorded the same to have been done by this king. His love was great to learned men, he used as counsellors in his important affairs JOHN IRELAND a doctor of divinity, and one of the Sorbon in Paris, made arch-deacon of St. Andrews, Mr. ROBERT BLACKADER, whom he promoted to be bishop of Glasgow, Mr. WILLIAM ELPHINSTON, whom of an official or commissary of Lothian, he surrogated in the place of Mr. ROBERT BLACKADER, and made bishop of Aberdeen; and his faults either in religion or policy may be attributed to these and his other counsellors.

Many have thought that the fatal chariot of his precipice was, that he had equally offended kindred, clergy, nobility, and people. But suppose this had been true, why should such an horrible mischief have been devised, as to arm his own son against him? And that neither the fear of divine justice, nor the respect
of

of infamy with the present or after-times, nor the danger of the example, had power to divert the minds of men from such a cruel design! This was really to see the kid in the mother's milk, and to make an innocent youth obnoxious to the most hainous crime that could be committed. Whatever curtains could be spread to overshadow and cover this mischief, the horror of this fact possessed this prince to his last hour, and God out of his justice executed the revenge of this cruelty upon the nobles, commons, and the prince himself, at the field of Flowden; where some of the chief actors of this parricide were in their own persons, others in the persons of their successors, sacrificed to the ghost of this king.

THE



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L I F E and R E I G N
O F
J A M E S I V.

TH E lords who had chosen rather to be reputed famous rebels than contemned subjects, by their boldness of enterprizing, skill of managing the public affairs, and continued purchases, swelling to that greatness of power, that they found none to counterpoise, few to oppose their designs; to make their rebellion lawful, and show the world they intended not the subversion of their country, but of their opinionative king, nor that they did dislike sovereignty, so they might have a prince who would be ruled by their directions, take the name, and leave to them the majesty and authority of his place; after the killing of the father, call a parliament for the installing of the son in the royal throne. Few of the three estates here meeting, except themselves, and the commissioners of burroughs, in the month of June, the year 1488, at Edinburgh the prince is crowned, then having not attained the sixteenth

teenth year of his age. Though these men had assumed the government, yet in divers parts of the country, they had but doubtful obedience, nor was their authority universally acknowledged, the flames of dissension seeming yet neither to be extinguished, nor altogether smothered with the life of the late king. On the sea, Sir ANDREW WOOD, who had attended the event of the last battle, maintained resolutely the quarrel of his dead master. Five tall ships sent by the king of England to his confederate's aid, but which came too late, pretending a revenge upon his disloyal subjects, pillaged the maritime towns, and foraged the adjacent parts of the country, shut up the mouth of the river of Forth, and interrupted the commerce of merchants. To repel which violence, the ships gathered by the lords struggled in vain, being every way inferior and weak to suppress their incursions and algarads. On the land, the forces of those who had stood out for the late king, had rather been by the last conflict scattered, than thoroughly broken and brought under. The ablest and most convenient companies which were gathered to his assistance, having never assembled and joined in one body, the fight being inconsiderably precipitated, and the dye thrown before they could descend from the far mountains, and cross the fordless rivers: and of those who were in the fray not many being taken prisoners, and fewer killed, falling under the weight of friendly arms.

The prime men of those who had chosen rather justly to follow the king, than profitably his rebels, finding themselves for their loyalty, and that good-will which they had carried to their sovereign, persecuted and proscribed in their fortunes and persons, inflamed with indignation and shame, resolve to oppose wisdom to fortune, courage to strength, and to hazard some one day more for the repairing the losses of former. The pillage begun upon the seas by the English animating them; and being desirous to make as many fellows of their danger as they could; they send letters through all the quarters of the kingdom to their friends, familiars and confederates, encouraging them to ply the business generously, opposing their valour and courage to the strength and power.

power of the abusers of the prince. By public writings they cast aspersions on the present government. After that battle of Stirling, and since the coronation of the king, they had not fallen in the power and mercy of a monarch, but under an oligarchy, the most depraved form of all governments; the name and title of a king, a young man scarce sixteen years of age enjoyed, but he governed not, but was by the killers of his father misgoverned, who under false pretences intended the ruin of the state. "What reproach and shame would it be, not only with all men now living, but also with posterity, to suffer these who had hazarded what they had dearest for the honour and preservation of their prince, to be branded with the name of traitors, be banished and followed to death; whilst the transgressors and abusers of all laws, divine and human, sit judges over them, as revengers of general wrongs, usurping the titles of deliverers of the country, and restorers of the commonwealth, amongst whose paws the present king could not be assured and safe; they being the men, who, to justify their injustice, and make their fact meritorious, brought him in arms, not knowing whither, against his king and father, most wofully taken away: besides the abusing of his name and authority in every civil matter. The late king had lost the day and himself by his own errors, not by their power and designs. Now they should oppose their proceedings: and though they might be esteemed inferior in number to them; yet, if they met together, they might be found equal to them in worth and courage, being puffed up by the last misfortune, and only putting their confidence in that they obtained their designs."

Much being projected and designed for their meeting in arms, in the North ALEXANDER lord FORBES, a man born neither to rest himself, nor suffer others, in Aberdeen and other towns, on the point of a lance displayed the shirt of the slaughtered king purpled with his blood; inviting the country, as by an herald, to the revenge of his murder. In the West the earl of Lenox, a man eminent by his birth and fortune hath the same resolution; the earl Marishal, lords GORDON and

LYLE,

LYLE, with their confederates in other parts of the kingdom, where their power or eloquence could prevail, move all their engines to advance the enterprize, and put every thing in readiness.

The lords of the insurrection having the young king in their hands to countenance their proceedings, joining discretion to their good success, determine, except upon necessity, not to spill more civil blood. And to disperse the clouds of that appearing storm, they encourage Sir ANDREW WOOD, now received in favour, and brought not only to be no enemy, but to be their friend and fellow-helper (having obtained from them the barony of Largow, disposed to him hereditarily, of which before he had only a lease of the late king for his first service) with his ships to clear the Forth, and scour the seas of the English. And they launch out to his assistance the vessels and boats of the havens near adjacent. At that same time JOHN lord DRUMMOND steward of Strathern, a nobleman, courageous and adventurous, is directed to wait upon the earl of Lenox, stop his ravaging and wasting the country, and keep him back from joining with his confederates of the North, and infecting the more civil parts; being the greatest, ablest and nearest man of that faction. The earl had raised many High land and West-land men, recorded to be two thousand; but when he could not pass the river of Forth at the bridge of Stirling, the lords having invested the town, he essayeth to pass among the fens and marshes at a ford not far from the head of the river, where other his confederates had appointed to meet him. Whilst he is encamped at Tilly-moss, far from all appearance of suspicion of danger, the lord DRUMMOND, by the advertisement of ALEXANDER MACKEALP (who had taken arms with the earl only to find out his ways) in the night invadeth his camp, the centinels and these of the foremost guard seized upon, or killed, or driven back. They in the nearest cabins, amazed with the sudden mischief, rise to arm themselves and think of fight; but finding the danger to be on all sides, and through the whole camp, neither facing before them, nor hearing any directions given them, for the great noise of the invaders, it being impossible to put themselves

selves in array, confusedly each overthrowing another, take themselves to a hopeless and disordered flight. Sleep here to some is continued in death, many disburdening themselves of their arms, seek sanctuary amongst the winding paths of these marishes. Others are taken, but by their acquaintance and friends suffered after to escape. Revenge is only followed against such who in malice had enterprized any thing against the present government, and persevered in their attempts.

This defeat of the earl of Lenox by the lord DRUMMOND, is seconded with the rumour of a sea-victory obtained by Sir ANDREW WOOD against STEPHEN BULL, a man excelling in maritime affairs, who had come upon the Scottish seas to revenge the quarrel of his master's ships not long before taken and spoiled by Sir ANDREW. They had met near the island of the May at the mouth of the river of Forth, and ranging themselves for fight, had been two days by the waves and winds carried along the coast of Fife, driven at last amongst the mounts of sand where the Tay loseth his name in the sea; the English ships taller, and of a greater burthen than the Scottish, by ignorance or negligence of their mariners embanked, and stuck moored upon the shelves; and being forced by necessity to render, were brought as prizes to Dundee. The rumour of these victories spread abroad, so amazed the companies raised in the North by the lord FORBES, and other his confederates, that they changing their opinions with the event of the actions, gave over further prosecution or desire of war, and every man retired to his own home. After which, by indifferent friends, having sought a reconciliation (it being more expedient to take them in by policy than by force) they were easily received into favour: amongst which was the earl of Lenox and the lord FORBES.

The governours; to ingratiate themselves more with the people, by calming the present troubles, and uniting the divided members of the commonwealth, that every man might have a public assurance for the freedom of his person and private estate and fortune, call a parliament, and it is held at Edinburgh in February. Having

ing the law in their own hands, that the insurrection might be thought just, here it was adjudged, that those who were slain in the field of Stirling had fallen by their own deservings, and justly suffered the punishment of their rashness; that the victors were innocently guiltless of the blood there shed, and fairly acquitted of any pursuit: the three estates testifying the same by their subscriptions and signets.

It was ordained, " That they who came against the present king in aid of his father, should take remissions or pardons, and so many of them as were in hereditary offices, as wardens, justices, sheriffs, stewards, baillies, lieutenants, or in other public charges, should be suspended from them for the space of three years; that such who had offices for term of life, should be dispossessed and denuded of them altogether."

All which, though done under a colour of punishment, was only to invest places, and to turn some of themselves rich by their spoils. The punishment of mean men challenged of these garboils, is either made little or passed over. All donations howsoever made by patent from the king or by parliaments in prejudice of the crown, beginning from the month of September before, till the day of his decease, are repelled and annihilated. All honours, bestowed on such as the late king sought to oblige unto him, were recalled. The earl of Crawford was divested of his title of being duke of Montrose, as the L. of Balmain was of his, of being earl of Bothwel. Ambassadors are directed to the emperor, pope, kings of France and Denmark, and other princes, to renew the leagues, ancient confederacies and alliances, as in times past had been the custom of the kings of Scotland to their neighbour princes, but especially to take away the blame of their king's slaughter from the governors, and manifest to all the world the candor of their minds, and justice of their proceedings. For that some few English ships had shut up the narrow seas of Scotland, and interrupted the commerce of merchants, pillaging the coasts, order was established for building many ships, and that every sea-port should be stored with them, as well to maintain traffic abroad with

with strangers, as for fishing, and to be wails to the country at home. In a matter so important, and near concerning the well and standing of the state, the barons were ordained to share and bear a part with the merchants and burroughs. And in so fair a project, to encourage his people, the king himself was content first to begin and to build ships for his own and the public service of the kingdom. This being one of the greatest miseries of the late king, that he suffered himself to be misgoverned by, as they termed them, worthless men; some prelates and noblemen, eminent in learning and virtue, are selected, who should still be resident with the king, and of his council, without the advice, consent and decree of six of which, if any matter of importance were proceeded on and concluded, they should be void and null: governors are appointed to bring up his brothers.

Now is every thing ordered to the best, justice is executed on oppressors and robbers, and in the remotest parts of the kingdom, the king himself in person seeth it administered. He is of so contrary a temper to the humour of his predecessors, that he granted freely to every man, what could be demanded in reason. To give a testimony to the world of the agony of his mind, for the death of his father, and what remorse and anguish he suffered for the faults of those who brought him to the field against him, he girded himself with a chain of iron, to which every third year of his life thereafter he added some rings and weight. Though this might have proved terrible to the accomplices of the crime; yet either out of conscience of his gentle disposition and mild nature, and confidence in his generosity, or of the trust they had in their own power and faction, they betrayed no signs of fear, nor attempted ought against the common peace and tranquillity. Some records bear, that they forewarned him by the example of his father not to take any violent course against them, or which might irritate the people against him; and in every thing to embrace their counsels: and that finding him repining and stubborn, beyond mediocrity, giving himself over to sorrow and pensiveness, they threatened him with a coronation of one of his brothers, telling him,
it

it was in their power to make any of the race of his predecessors their king, if he were headstrong and refractory to oppose their wholesome directions and grave counsels.

Amidst this grief of the king and overweening of his supercilious governors, ANDREW FORMAN, secretary to ALEXANDER VI. bishop of Rome, arrived in Scotland, with instructions for the clergy, and letters from his master to the king and the nobles.

The king's were full of ordinary consolations to assuage his passions, and reduce his mind to a more calm temper for the accident of his father's death.

"The most precious victory a prince could acquire, was sometimes to overcome himself and triumph over his disordered passions. In all perturbations, to which we are subject, we should endeavour to practise that precept, *nothing too much*; but chiefly in our passions of sorrow and wrath: which, not being restrained, overwhelm the greatest and most generous minds; that by passion, the fewest actions, and by reason the most do prosper.

"Though a king, he must not imagine himself exempted from things casual to all mankind, especially in seditions and civil tumults: from which no kingdom nor state hath been free. There being no city which hath not sometimes wicked citizens, and always and ever an headstrong and mad multitude; he should take what had befallen him from the hand of his maker, who chastiseth those he loveth. What comes from heaven he should bear necessarily, what proceedeth from men courageously; there was no man so safe, excellent and transcendent, who by an insolent nobility and ravaging populace might not be compelled to perpetrate many things against his heart and intentions.

"The will being both the beginning and subject of all sin, and the consenting to and allowing the action being the only and main point to be considered and looked into, of which he was free, the sin committed was not his, nor could the punishment which by the divine justice might follow belong unto him.

"Since he had done nothing of himself, but as a bound man had been carried away by mutinous subjects;

"jects; these that lead transgress, not always they
 "that follow. To these men remorse and torture of
 "conscience belonged; it was they should lament and
 "mourn, who under false pretences had abused the
 "people, masked their ambition and malice with a re-
 "formation of errors in the state, whose rage could not
 "be quenched but by the blood of their sovereign. It
 "was these should bewail their injustice and cruelty,
 "the sin, shame and judgment, for so hainous a fact,
 "followed these men: he should not impute the wrongs
 "and wickedness of others, by which he had been a
 "sufferer with his disastored father, to himself. Re-
 "venge belonged to the almighty, to whose tribunal he
 "should submit his quarrel. He should not decree the
 "worst against his mutinous subjects, nor turn them
 "desperate, as if there were no place to repent. Great
 "offences, perpetrated by great persons and a multi-
 "tude, ordinarily were seldom punished in a state.
 "That it was profitable for a prince sometime to put
 "up voluntarily an injury. The way to be invin-
 "cible, was never to contend; and to stand out of
 "danger was the benefit of peace. That he should ap-
 "ply soft medicine where it was dangerous to use vio-
 "lent; that following his maker, he should endeavour
 "to draw good out of evil.

"As he was for that disaster of his father pitied by
 "men upon earth, so assuredly he would be pardoned
 "in heaven. If his subjects returned to their crooked
 "bias, and did revolt again, he would make the danger
 "his own, use his ecclesiastical censures and spiritual
 "power against them, till they become obedient and
 "submitted themselves to the sway of his scepter."

In the letters to the nobles, he exhorted them to o-
 bedience.

"Ambition was the cause of sedition, which had no
 "limits, and was the bane and wrack of states and king-
 "doms, of which they should beware. Kingdoms sub-
 "sisted upon the reputation of a prince, and that re-
 "spect his subjects carried towards him. He was the
 "eye and sun of justice; the prince weakened or tak-
 "en away, or his authority contemned, the common-
 "wealth would not only fall into a decadence, but suf-

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“ for an earthquake, and perish ; either after by foreign-
 “ ners be invaded, or by intestine dissensions rent asun-
 “ der. Confusions followed, where obedience ceased
 “ and left. Contempt deposed kings as well as death,
 “ and kings are no longer kings when their subjects re-
 “ fuse to obey them.

“ That good people make good kings, which he re-
 “ quested them to endeavour to be, as they would an-
 “ swer to God, whose lieutenants princes were, and by
 “ whose power they ruled,”

After this time, the lord EVANDALE being dead, the earl of Angus was made chancellor, and the lord HUME obtained the place of great chamberlain of Scotland ; the country enjoyed a great calm of peace, the grounds of dissension seeming to be taken away.

The king in the strength and vigour of his youth, remembering that to live in idleness was to live to be contemned by the world, by change of objects to expel his present sadness, and to enable himself for wars when they should burst forth, gave himself to recreations by games, and with a decent pomp entertained all knightly exercises, keeping an open and magnificent court. When time and exercise had enabled him, and he thought he had attained to some perfection in martial sports, tilting and barriers are proclaimed ; rewards propounded and promised to the victors ; challenges are sent abroad unto strangers, either to be umpires or actors of feats of arms.

CHARLES VIII. the French king, having an ambition to re-annex the dutchy of French Bretaign to the crown of France, either by arms, or the marriage of ANNE the apparent heir ; under the pretext and shadow of those painted joustings, sendeth to Scotland some of the bravest gentlemen of his court, desiring privily the assistance of king JAMES against the English, if it should fall forth that the king of England troabled his designs.

Not long after, well and honourably accompanied, arriveth in Scotland a young man naming himself RICHARD duke of York, son to EDWARD IV, true inheritor of the crown of England, divers neighbour
 princes

princes testifying the same by their letters, which contained,

“ That EDWARD, the-eldest son of EDWARD IV,
 “ who succeeded his father in the crown, by the name
 “ of EDWARD V. was murdered by RICHARD duke
 “ of Glocester their unnatural uncle; but RICHARD
 “ the younger son his brother, by the man who was
 “ employed to execute that tragedy (making report to
 “ the tyrant that he had performed his command for
 “ both brethren) was saved, and with speed and secre-
 “ cy conveyed to Tournay, there concealed and
 “ brought up by his father’s sister MARGARET duch-
 “ ess of Burgundy; that king JAMES should acknow-
 “ lege this for truth, and friendly assist this young man,
 “ who was that very RICHARD duke of York, to re-
 “ cover his inheritance, now most unjustly usurped
 “ and possessed by HENRY TUDOR earl of Richmond.
 “ That the right of kings extended not only to the safe
 “ preservation of their own; but also to the aid of all
 “ such allies, as change of time and state hath often
 “ hurled down from crowns to undergo an exercise of
 “ suffering in both fortunes: and kings should repossess
 “ kings wrongfully put from their own; as his predeces-
 “ sors, to whose royal virtues he was heir, had repossessed
 “ HENRY VI. king of England, spoiled of his king-
 “ dom and distressed; by which charity obliging all vir-
 “ tuous princes unto him, he should find ever as his
 “ own, MAXIMILIAN of Bohemia, CHARLES of
 “ France, and MARGARET duchess dowager of Bur-
 “ gundy.”

King JAMES graciously received this young man,
 and told him, “ That whatsoever he were, he should
 “ not repent him of putting himself into his hands:” and
 from that time forth, though many gave informations
 against him as a counterfeit, he entertained him every way
 as a prince, embraced his quarrel, and shutting both
 his own eyes, and the eyes of the world, he gave con-
 sent that this duke should take to wife lady KATHA-
 RINE GORDON daughter to the earl of Huntley, which
 some thought he did to increase the faction of PERKIN,
 for that was the true name of this impostor, in England,

stir up the discontented subjects against king HENRY, and to encourage his own subjects to side in his quarrel.

Not long after in person, with this duke of York in his company, who assured him of powerful assistance, he entered with an army into Northumberland, but not one man coming to side with them, the king turned his enterprize into an inroad, and after he had spoiled the country returned into Scotland. It is said, that PERKIN acting the part of a prince handsomely, when he saw the Scots pillaging and wasting the country, came to the king, and in a deploring manner requested him to spare his afflicted people; that no crown was so dear to his mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his people. Whereunto king JAMES answered, he was ridiculously careful of an interest another man possessed, and which perhaps was none of his. The king of England, who delighted more to draw treasure from his people than to hazard the spilling of their blood, to revenge the predatory war of the Scots, and find out PERKIN, requireth a subsidy of his subjects; and though few believed he would follow so far a flying hart, he was levying a puissant army.

No sooner this subsidy began to be collected amongst the Cornish men, when they began to grudge and murmur, and afterwards rebelled; which when it was understood by the king, he retained the forces raised, for his own service and use. In the mean time dispatching the earl of Surrey to the North to attend the Scots incursions, whilst the Cornish men are in their march towards London, king JAMES again entered the frontiers of England with an army, and besieged the castle of Norham in person; but understanding the earl of Surrey was advancing with greater forces, loaden with spoil, he returned back again; the earl of Surrey finding no enemy, sat down before the castle of Ayton, which he took, and soon after returned into England; the cold season of the year, with the unseasonableness of the weather, driving away time, invited a treaty of peace on both sides.

Amidst these turmoils and unprofitable incursions of the two kingdoms, FERDINANDO and ISABELLA of Spain

Spain sent one PETER HIALAS to treat a marriage between KATHARINE, one of their daughters, and ARTHUR prince of Wales. This alliance being agreed upon, and almost brought to perfection, king HENRY, (desirous of quietness, and to have an end of all debates, especially these with Scotland) communicateth his intentions to HIALAS, a man wise and learned, and whom he thought able to be employed in such a service: for it stood not with his reputation to sue unto his enemy for peace. But HIALAS, a stranger unto both, as having direction from his master for the peace of christian and neighbour princes, might take upon him this reconciliation.

HIALAS accepteth the embassy, and coming to king JAMES, after he had brought him to hearken to more safe and quiet counsels, wrote unto king HENRY, "That he hoped, that peace might easily be concluded, "if he would send some wise and temperate counsellor "of his own, that might treat of the conditions."

Whereupon the king directeth the bishop of Durham, RICHARD FOX, who at that time was at his castle of Norham, to confer with HIALAS, and they both to treat with some commissioners deputed from king JAMES. The commissioners of both sides meet at Jedburgh, and dispute many articles and conditions of peace. Restitution of the spoils taken by the Scots, or damages for the same, is desired: but that was passed as a matter impossible to be performed. An interview in person at Newcastle is desired of both kings: which being referred to king JAMES his own arbitrement, he is reported to have answered, that he meant to treat a peace, and not go a begging for it.

The breaking of the peace for PERKIN WARBECK is highly aggravated by the bishop, and he is demanded to be delivered to the king of England; "That a prince "should not easily believe with the common people. "That PERKIN was a fiction, and such an one, that "if a poet had projected the figure, it could not have "been done more to admiration, than the house of "York by the old duchess of Burgundy, sister to EDWARD IV, had contrived theirs, having first raised

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" LAMBERT SIMNEL, and at last this PERKIN, to personate kings, and seduce the people. His birth, education, and not residing in any one place, proved him a pageant king; that he was a reproach to all kings, and a person not protected by the law of nations."

The bishop of Glasgow answered for his master, " That the love and amity, grounded upon a common cause and universal conclusion amongst kings to defend one another, was the main foundation upon which king JAMES had adventured to assist RICHARD duke of York. That he was no competent judge of his title; he had received him as a suppliant, protected him as a person fled for refuge, espoused him with his kinswoman, and aided him with arms upon the belief that he was a prince; that the people of Ireland, Wales, and many in England, acknowledged him no less than their king, whether he were so or not; since for a prince he had hitherto defended him, he could not leave him upon the relation of his most terrible enemy and the present possessor of his crown. That no prince was bound to render a subject to another who had come to him for sanctuary, much less a prince who had recourse unto him for aid and supply, and was now allyed with the ancient blood of the country."

Much being said, at last they conclude upon a truce for some months following.

After this treaty of peace the counterfeit duke of York, with his lady and such followers as would not leave him, sailed over into Ireland.

This truce, happily concluded and continued, by a trifling and untoward accident went near to have been given up and broken.

There were certain Scottish young men came into Norham town, and having little to do went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the castle. Some of the garrison of the castle observing them, and having not their minds purged of the late ill humour of hostility, either suspected them, or quarrelled with them as spies, whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows, so that many were wounded on either side, and

and the Scots, being strangers in the town, had the worst; infomuch that some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the wardens of the marches of both sides, and no good order taken, king JAMES took it to himself, and sent MARCHMONT herald to the king of England to make protestation, "That if reparation were not done according to the conditions of the truce, his king did denounce war." The king of England (who had often tried fortune, and was inclined to peace) made answer, "That what had been done was utterly against his will, and without his privity; but if the garrison soldiers had been in the fault, he would see them punished, and the truce in all points preserved." This answer pleased not king JAMES. Bishop Fox understanding his discontent, being troubled that the occasion of breaking the truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory letters to the king of Scotland to appease him. Whereupon king JAMES, mollified by the bishop's submissive and discreet letters, wrote back again unto him, "That though he were in part moved by his letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied except he spake with himself, as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters, that might concern the good of both kingdoms." The bishop advising first with his master, took his journey to Scotland: the meeting was at the abbey of Melrose, where the king then abode. The king first roundly uttered unto the bishop his offence conceived for the breach of the truce by his men at Norham castle; after speaking with him apart, he told him, "That these temporary truces and peace were soon made and soon broken: but that he desired a straiter amity with the king of England," discovering his mind, "That if the king would give him in marriage the lady MARGARET his eldest daughter, that indeed might be a knot indissoluble; that he knew well what place and power the bishop deservedly had with his master; therefore if he would take the business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would well succeed."

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The bishop answered soberly, "That he thought himself rather happy than worthy, to be an instrument in such a matter, but would do his best endeavour." Wherefore the bishop of Durham returning from Scotland to his king at London, and giving account what had passed, and finding his king more than well disposed in it, gave the king first advice to proceed to a conclusion of peace, and then to go on with the treaty of marriage by degrees. Hereupon a peace was concluded, to continue for both the kings lives, and to the survivor of them one year after. In this peace there was an article contained, "That no Englishman should enter into Scotland, nor no Scotsman into England, without letters commendatory from the king of either nation."

During this treaty of the marriage, it is reported that the king of England referred this matter to his council, and that some of the table, in freedom of counsellors, the king being present, had put the case, "That issues males and females failing of the race of his two sons, that then the kingdom of England will fall to the king of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England." Whereunto the king himself replied, "That if any such event should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland; for that the greater would draw the lesser, and that it was a safer union for England than that of France."

Shortly after, the espousals of JAMES king of Scotland with lady MARGARET the king of England's eldest daughter followed; which were done by proxy in all solemn manner. The assurance and contract was published at Paul's cross the 25th of January at London: in applause of which, hymns were publicly sung in the churches, and bonfires, with great feasting and banqueting, set throughout all the city.

JULIUS II. in the beginning of this treaty did gratify king JAMES with a sword and diadem wrought with flowers of gold (which the popes on Christmases even used to consecrate, a custom first brought in by SIXTUS QUARTUS) which were presented to him at Holy-rood-house. The marriage was in August following consum-

consummated at Edinburgh, king HENRY bringing his daughter as far as Colliveston on the way; where his mother the countess of Richmond abode; and then resigning her to the attendance of the earl of Northumberland, who with a great train of lords and ladies of honour, brought her into Scotland to the king her husband. Solemn days were kept at court for banqueting, masks and revelling, barriers and tilting proclaimed. Challenges were given out in the name of the savage knight, who was the king himself, and rewards designed to the victors. Old king ARTHUR, with his knights of the round-table were here brought upon the lists. The fame of this marriage had drawn many foreign gentlemen to the court. Amongst others came monsieur DARCY, naming himself LE SIEUR DE LA BEAUTE, who tried barriers with the lord HAMILTON, after they had tilted with grinding spears. Some of the savage knight's company, who were robust highland men, he giving way unto them, smarted really in these feigned conflicts, with targets and two-handed swords to the music of their bag-pipes, fighting as in a true battle, to the admiration of the English and French, who had never seen men so ambitious of wounds and prodigal of blood in sport. All were magnificently entertained by the king, and with honourable largesses and rewards of their valour, licensed to return home.

During the treaty of this marriage with England, a monster of a new and strange shape was born in Scotland near the city of Glasgow; the body of which under the waist or middle varied nothing from the common shape and proportion of the bodies of other men, the members above both for use and comeliness being two, their faces looking one way; sitting they seemed two men to such who saw not the parts beneath, and standing it could not be discerned to which of the two bulks above, the thighs and legs did appertain. They had differing passions, and diverse wills, often chiding others for disorder in their behaviour and actions: after much deliberation, embracing that unto which they both consented. By the king's direction they were carefully brought up and instructed in music and foreign languages. This monster lived twenty and eight

years, and died when JOHN duke of Albany governed. CLAUD GRUGET maketh mention of the like monster born in Paris before the marriage of HENRY IV. the French king with MARGARET of Valois, but the birth and death of it were near together.

The king, by his great liberality unto strangers abroad, and his lavish spending at home (for religious places were founded, castles repaired, and ships built, especially three of an extraordinary greatness) finding himself needy of treasure to support the daily expences at court, engaged to many, and sunk deep in debt; and that he could not levy subsidies, except by the suffrages of his parliament, by whose power they were imposed and rated, setteth the most learned counsellors at law, and men experienced in foreign policy, to find out new means and ways to acquire and gather him money by laws already made and ordained, which was in effect to poll the people by executing the rigour of justice, the fortunes of wise men arising often on the expences of fools, after the example of king HENRY VII. of England, his father-in-law, who taking the advantage of the breach of his penal statutes, gave power to Sir RICHARD EMPSON and EDMOND DUDLEY, by informers and promoters, to oppress and ruin the estates of many of his best subjects, whom king HENRY VIII. to satisfy his wronged people, after his decease caused execute. Old customs are by these men pried into, and forgotten obsolete statutes quickened.

Amongst the titles of possessing of lands in Scotland there is one, which in process of time, of an ungodly custom, grew strong, and is kept for a law, being fetched by imitation from the laws of the neighbouring states; "That if the possessor of lands die and leave a minor to succeed to him, his tutelage belongeth to the king, and the profit of the lands until the minor be of the age of one and twenty years." This is of those lands which are termed wards. The king causeth bring up his wards, but bestoweth no more of their rents upon them than is useful to such of that age. Another law they have, not any thing better than this, which they call recognition. "That if the evidences of any possessor of ward-lands be not in all points formal, and above
" except

"exceptions of law, the lands, the possessors put from them, shall return to the lord superior:" and like to this, "That if a possessor of ward-lands, without the consent of the superior, sell and put away the half or above the half of his land and farm, the whole land and farm returneth to the superior or lord Paramount." They have lands held with clauses, which they call irritant, "That if two terms of a few-duty run unpaid into the third, the land falleth unto the superior." When those laws, and other like them by reason of the neighbour incursions and troubles with England, and the civil broils at home, had been long out of use amongst the subjects, and the execution of them, as it were, in a manner forgot, these projectors and new toll-masters, the king giving way to enrich his exchequer, awakened them. Many of the subjects by these inquiries were obnoxious to the king and smarted, but chiefly the most honest, who were constrained either to buy their own lands and inheritances from the exchequer, or quit and freely give some portion of them to those caterpillars of the state. The king was so dearly beloved of his people, that in the height of those grievances (which reached near the exorbitant avarice of his father) none refused or made difficulty to give all that the laws ordained. The king seeing their willingness to perform, and knowing their great disability thereunto, out of his singular grace and goodness remitteth not only the rigour, but even the equity almost of his laws, insomuch that thereafter none of his subjects were damnified in their persons or estates by his proceedings; which gained him the hearts of all: and to put away all suspicions and jealousies from their minds (an ordinary practice amongst princes, acts that fill princes coffers ever being the ruin of their first projectors) of any wrong intended, he suffered the promoters and projectors of this polling, with others of the most active, to be thrown into prisons, where some miserably ended their days.

The year 1507. JAMES prince of Scotland and isles was born at Holy-rood-house, the 21st of January: The queen in her throwes of birth, being brought near the last agony of death, the king, overcome with affecti-

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on and religious vows, taketh a pilgrimage for her recovery on foot to St. Ninian's in Galloway; a place in those credulous times famous for the burial of St. Ninian the apostle of the Britains, and notorious by the many processions and visits of the neighbour countrys of Ireland and England. At his return he findeth his queen recovered. The child after died at Stirling with the bishop of Galloway, who was appointed to attend him. The year following the queen brought forth another son, named ARTHUR, at Holy-rood-house; but he died also in the castle of Edinburgh: and HENRY VII, his grandfather accompanied him to the other world. King JAMES, to the coronation of the young king his brother-in-law, sendeth ambassadors.

After the death of his two sons, and his father-in-law, as if he had been warned from above to think upon his own mortality (whether he had a resolute intention so to do, or that for reasons known to himself, he would have it so appear) he giveth out, that out of remorse for bearing arms in the field where his father was slain, he had a resolution to leave his kingdom, and visit the holy sepulchre. Then to prepare his way, ROBERT BLACKADER abbot of Dunfermline, is directed; but the abbot in his journey is arrested by death, and the king findeth other hinderances to keep him at home.

Amidst these deliberations, his queen is delivered in the palace of Linlithgow of her third son, in the month of April 1512. who succeeded to the crown, and was named JAMES.

About this same time BERNARD STUART, that famous warrior under CHARLES VIII. of France, who commanded the French in Bosworth-field, came to Scotland followed by ANDREW FORMAN then arch-bishop of Bourges, and bishop of Murray, with ALEXANDER STUART the king's natural son, after promoted to be arch-bishop of St. Andrews. The cause which was given out to the rumours of the people of their coming, was, that the French king, having no male children, craved the advice and counsel of the king of Scotland his confederate, concerning the marriage of his eldest daughter; whether he should bestow her upon FRANCIS of Valois, the dauphine and duke
of

of Angolessm, or upon CHARLES king of Castile, who had presented her with many tokens of affection, and by his ambassadors earnestly sought her from her brother. But their great errand was to divide the king from his brother-in-law king HENRY, and make him assist LOUIS; these two potentates intending a war against other.

ANNE daughter of FRANCIS duke of Bretaign, after the death of her sister ISABELLA, remained sole heir of that duchy, her wardship falling to the French king CHARLES VIII. He terrified so her subjects, guided her kindred, and the principal persons about her, that making void the pretended marriage of MAXIMILIAN king of the Romans, which was by proxy, she was married unto him; notwithstanding he had the daughter of MAXIMILIAN at his court, with great expectation of a marriage to be celebrated with her. After the death of king CHARLES, LOUIS XII. having married JEAN the sister of CHARLES and daughter to LOUIS XI, by his many favours bestowed upon pope ALEXANDER VI, and his son CESAR BORGIA, obtaineth a brieve of divorce against her, by the power of which (her weakness for the bearing of children, the necessary upholders of a crown, by his physicians being proved) he had married ANNE of Bretaign, for he would not lose so fair a dowry for the blustering rumour of malecontents, which in a little time would grow stale and vanish. Pope ALEXANDER being dead, JULIUS II, a turbulent, unquiet, but magnificent prelate, and a stout defender of the church patrimony, being suspicious of the power of the French in Italy, and that they would not rest content with the kingdom of Naples and duchy of Milan, but one day hazard for all; fearing also they would, because they might, put him out of his chair, and substitute in his room their cardinal of Amboise, or some other of their own, began to study novations and means to send the French back to their own country, his ordinary discourse being that he would one day make Italy free from Barbarians. He requireth king LOUIS to give over the protection of the duke of Ferrara, and of ANNIBAL BENTIVOGLIO, whom he had thrust out of Bullogne. The king refusing to forsake his confederates,

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federates, the pope betaketh himself to his spiritual arms, and threateneth with excommunication the duke and all who came to his aid and support, especially the French. They decline his sentence, and appeal to a true and lawful general council, with which they threaten him. HENRY VIII. then in the fervour of his youth, amidst a great treasure left by his father, and by more than ordinary bands of love and friendship tied to the pope, (as having dispensed with the marrying his brother's widow) interposeth himself as an indifferent mediator and intercessor for peace between the two parties, but in effect was the chief maintainer of the quarrel, effecting nothing, because he would not. Conditions being refused by king HENRY, he essayeth to draw the French arms from the pope's territories by cutting them work nearer home, and bringing a necessity upon them to defend their own. Upon this determination, he requireth king LOUIS to restore and render to him his duchies GUYENNE and NORMANDY, with his ancient inheritance of Anjou and Main, and the other old possessions of the English in France, which wrongfully had been detained and kept from him and his ancestors. The war of Italy by these threatenings was not left off: for the pope coming to Bullogne, with intention to invade Ferrara, is besieged with his cardinals, and he sendeth declarations to the christian princes, protesting the French not only thirsted after the patrimony and inheritance of St. PETER, but even after christian blood. Mean while he absolveth the subjects of king LOUIS from their oath of allegiance, abandoneth his kingdom to any can possess it; at a council at Lateran he dispatcheth a bull, wherein the title of *most christian king* is transferred upon king HENRY of England, who to his former titles of France, having now the approbation of the pope, and the kingdom interdicted, prepareth an expedition in person. After which, with five thousand barded horses, forty thousand foot, coming into Picardy, he encampeth before Therouenne, a town upon the marches of Picardy. Here the emperor MAXIMILIAN, resenting yet his old injury, entereth into the king of England's pay, and weareth the cross of St.

St. GEORGE: but so long as he stayed in the army, it was governed according to his counsel and direction.

King **JAMES** before his meeting with **BERNARD STUART** and bishop **FORMAN**, was fully purposed to prove an indifferent beholder of this war: but **BERNARD** having corrupted the courtiers, and the bishop the chief churchmen of the kingdom, after their long and earnest intercession he was drawn altogether to affect and adhere to the French.

To throw the apple of dissension, bishop **FORMAN** is sent to king **HENRY** to demand certain jewels by their father's will, or her brother prince **ARTHUR**'s, appertaining to queen **MARGARET** his sister.

King **HENRY**, mistrusting that embassy, offereth all and more than they demand from him. Shortly after the English beginning to interrupt the traffic of the French by sea, king **JAMES** will send his ships, lately well manned and equipped for fight, which not long before had been prepared, as was given out, to transport the king into Syria, to his cousin queen **ANNE**, supposing this gift would rather seem a pledge of friendship and alliance, to the English, than any supply of war. But **JAMES** earl of Arran having got the command of them, instead of sailing towards France, arriveth in Ireland, whether by tempest of weather, or that he would disturb the king's proceedings in assisting the French, instigated and corrupted by king **HENRY**, is uncertain: and after he had spoiled Knock-Fergus a maritime village, returneth with them to the town of Air.

The king taking in an evil part the invasion of Ireland, but more the lingering of the earl, for he had received letters from queen **ANNE** and bishop **FORMAN**, regretting the long and vain expectation of his ships, giveth the earl of Angus, and Sir **ANDREW WOOD**, a commission for both him and them. The earl of Arran by his friends at court, understanding his master's displeasure, ere they could find him, hoiseth up sails, and commiteth himself rather to the uncertain fortune of the seas than the just wrath of a king. After great tempest arriving in French Bretaign, these ships built at such extraordinary charges, the sails and cordage being

being taken from them, rotted and consumed by weather, in the haven of Brest.

Now matters grew more exasperate between the brother kings; ROBERT CAR warden of the borders is killed by three English, HERON, LILBURN, STARRED. ANDREW BARTON, who, upon an old quarrel begun in the reign of king JAMES III, had purchased letters of reprisal against the Portuguese, by THOMAS HOWARD the English admiral is slain, and his ships taken. To this last grievance, when it was expostulated, king HENRY is said to have answered, *That truce amongst princes was never broken for taking or killing of pirates.*

ALEXANDER lord HUME warden of the east marches, in revenge of accumulated injuries, with three thousand men invaded the English borders, burneth some villages, and forageth the fields about. But having divided his forces, and sent a part of them laden with spoils towards Scotland, he falleth into an ambush of the English: where Sir WILLIAM BULMURE with a thousand archers put him to flight, and took his brother GEORGE. During these border incursions, the lord DACRES and doctor WEST came as in an embassy from England, not so much for establishing a peace, and settling those tumults, begun by the meeting of commissioners, who assembled and concluded nothing, as to give their master certain and true intelligence of the proceedings of the Scots with the French, and what they attempted.

Monfieur DE LA MOTTE was come with letters from the French king to stir up king JAMES to take arms against the English, and had in his voyage drowned three English ships, bringing seven with him as prizes to the harbour of Leith. ROBERT BARTON in revenge of ANDREW BARTON's death, at that same time returned with thirteen vessels all prizes. King LOUIS had sent a great ship laden with artillery, powder and wines; in which Mr. JAMES OGILBY abbot of Dryburgh arrived, with earnest request for the renewing of the ancient league between France and Scotland, and letters from queen ANNE for the invasion of England. In which she regreted he had not one friend nor
main-

maintainer of his honour at the court of France (after, the late delay of the sending his ships) except herself and her ladies: that her request was, he would for her sake, whom he had honoured with the name of his mistress in his martial sports in time of peace, march but one mile upon the English bounds, now in the time of an appearing war against her lord and country.

The king thinking himself already engaged and interested in his fame, drawn away by the promises, eloquence, and other persuasions of the French, assembleth the three estates of his kingdom to deliberate about a war with England. Many oppose it, but in vain; for at last for fear of the king's displeasure, it is concluded, uncertain whether by a worse counsel or event. But before any hostility against the English, they determine and decree, that king HENRY shall by an herald be fairly advertised and desired to desist from any further invasion of the territories of the French king, or duke of Guelders, who was general of the French army, the king of Scotland's confederates and kinsmen: which not being yielded unto, the war as lawful and just shall be denounced.

HENRY VIII. then besieging Therovenne, answered the herald who delivered his commission: "That he heard nothing from him, but what he had expected from a king, a despiser of God's and man's law; as for himself, he would not give over a war so happily begun for any threats. Neither did he care much for that man's friendship, of whose inconstancy he had so often had experience, nor for the power of his kingdom and ambitious poverty."

After this answer of the king of England, a declaration by the king of Scotland was published almost to this sense.

"Though princes should direct their actions more to conscience than fame, and are not bound to give an account of them to any, but to God alone, and when armies are prepared for battle, they look not so much to what may be said, as to what ought to be done; the victors being ever thought to have had reason upon their side, and the justest cause: yet to manifest our sincerity, and the uprightness of our proceedings,

“ as well to these present times, as to posterity, who may
 “ hereafter enquire after our deportments, that all may
 “ take a full view of our intentions and courses, we
 “ have been moved to lay down the justness and equity
 “ of our arms before the tribunal of the world.

“ The laws of nations and of nature, which are
 “ grounded upon that reason by which man is distin-
 “ guished from other creatures, oblige every one to de-
 “ fend himself: and to seek means for one’s own pre-
 “ servation is a thing unblamable: but the laws of so-
 “ vereignty lay greater obligations upon us, and above
 “ all men monarchs, and they to whom God hath given
 “ the government of states and kingdoms, are not
 “ only bound to maintain and defend their own king-
 “ doms, estates, and persons, but to relieve from un-
 “ just oppression, so far as is in their power, being re-
 “ quired, their friends, neighbours and confederates,
 “ and not to suffer the weak to be overthrown by the
 “ stronger. The many innovations and troubles rais-
 “ ed upon all sides about us, the wrongs our subjects
 “ have suffered, by the insolencies and arrogancy of
 “ the counsellors of HENRY king of England our bro-
 “ ther-in-law, are not only known to our neighbour,
 “ but blazed amongst remotest countries. Roads and
 “ incursions been have made upon our borders; sundry
 “ of our lieges have been taken, and, as in a just war,
 “ made prisoners; the warden of our marches, under
 “ assurance, hath been miserably killed; our merchants
 “ at sea invaded, spoiled of their goods, liberties, and
 “ lives: above others, the chief captains of our ships
 “ put to death, and all by the king’s own commission.
 “ upon which breaches between the two kingdoms, dis-
 “ orders and manifest wrongs committed upon our sub-
 “ jects, when by our ambassadors, we had divers times
 “ required satisfaction and reparation, we received no
 “ justice or answer worthy of him or us; our com-
 “ plaints being rejected, and we disdainfully contemned:
 “ that longer to suffer such insolences, and not by just
 “ force to resist unjust violence, and by dangers to seek
 “ a remedy against greater or more imminent dangers:
 “ not to stand to the defence of our lieges, and take
 “ upon us their protection, were to be deficient to our
 “ honour

“ honour and reputation, and to invite others to offer the like affronts and injuries to us hereafter.

“ Besides these breaches of duty, outrages, and wrongs done unto us, his brother HENRY king of England, without any just cause, or violence offered to him or any of his by the king of France, hath levied a mighty army against him, invaded his territories, using all hostility; continuing to assault and force his towns, make his subjects prisoners, kill and ransom them, impose subsidies, and raise money from the quieter sort, which wrongs, damage and injustice, we cannot but repute done to us, in respect of our earnest intercessions unto him, and many requests rejected, and that ancient league between the two kingdoms of France and Scotland, in which these two nations are obliged respectively, and mutually bound, to assist others against all invaders whatsoever; that the enemy of the one shall be the enemy of the other, and the friends of the one the friends of the other. As all motions tend unto rest, the end of a just war being peace, that our brother (who hath no such enemy as the too great riches and abundance in which he swimeth) may entertain peace with his brother princes, and moderate that boundless ambition, which maketh him usurp dominion over his equals; we have been compelled to take us to defensive arms; for our brother hath now declared himself, and vaunteth that he is sole judge and umpire of the peace of Europe, and that from his will, the differences of successions and titles of principalities, wrongs and other interests depend, as that all should be obsequious to his authority; and what particular authority can be more intolerable, than that he should hinder so great and just a prince as the king of France to claim his own, and defend his subjects?

“ If our brother the king of England by the supply and assistance of many neighbour countries, now by the provocation of the bishop of Rome, arising upon all sides against the French, should extend his power and victory over France, under what colour and pretence of justice soever, to what an extremity shall the kingdom of Scotland be reduced, having so powerful
“ and

“ and ambitious a neighbour? Fear of any neighbour
 “ prince’s greatness, when it extendeth itself over adja-
 “ cent territories, is a good cause of defence and taking
 “ of arms, which cannot be but just, since most ne-
 “ cessary.

“ We are not ignorant, that here will be objected a-
 “ gainst us, the breach of a league contracted between
 “ our brother and us : we have not broken that league ;
 “ but for great causes and reasons separated ourselves
 “ from it, our brother having taken away the means,
 “ occasions and reasons of observing it. In all leagues,
 “ confederations, alliances and promises amongst prin-
 “ ces, the last confederation is ever understood to be
 “ contracted without prejudice to the rights of any for-
 “ mer alliances : and when our ambassadors made that
 “ league with our brother, it was to be understood that
 “ it should hold no longer, nor we longer be bound un-
 “ to it, than he should keep to our first allies and anci-
 “ ent confederates, not breaking their peace, nor trou-
 “ bling the government and estates of their countries.
 “ A national league is ever to be preferred to any per-
 “ sonal, an ancient to a new ; the leagues between the
 “ kingdoms of France and Scotland having continued
 “ many ages, should justly be preferred to that which
 “ we, as a new ally of the house of England, did con-
 “ tract, which yet we are most willing to keep : but the
 “ love of our country, passing all private respects, hath
 “ moved us to separate ourselves for a time from it.

“ All leagues, confederations, alliances, and promis-
 “ es amongst princes, are respectively and mutually
 “ understood with this condition and law, providing
 “ both keep upon either side ; the one party breaking
 “ or departing from the league, alliance or promise,
 “ the other is no longer bound to keep nor adhere un-
 “ to it. So long as the king of England kept unto us,
 “ we kept unto him : he having now many ways brok-
 “ en unto us, we are no longer obliged to keep un-
 “ to him : that same oath which obliged and tied us,
 “ after his breach, absolving and making us free ; and
 “ of this we divers times advertised him, giving him
 “ assurance, except we would betray that trust and con-
 “ fidence our subjects and confederates had in us, for
 “ the

“ the maintainance of their peace and safety, we could
“ not but assist them in their just cause (howsoever the
“ justest actions have not ever the most profitable e-
“ vents) and be constrained to have a recourse to arms
“ for a remedy of their present misery.

“ And now notwithstanding of our advanced expedi-
“ tion, and preparations for war, that the world may
“ judge rightly of our intentions, we declare and ma-
“ nifest, that if our brother shall leave off the invasion
“ of our confederates, use no more hostility against
“ them, and give satisfaction for the wrongs done unto
“ our subjects, that we shall disband our forces, and
“ are content that all matters of difference, as well be-
“ tween the king of France and our brother, as our
“ brother and us, be amicably judged, decided and
“ taken away: as that not only a truce and cessation
“ of their misery for a time, but a perfect and lasting
“ peace be concluded and established, to the full con-
“ tentment, and lasting happiness of the three kingdoms
“ and our posterity.”

Whilst the king stayed at Linlithgow, attending the gathering of his army, now ready to set forward, and full of cares and perplexity, in the church of St. MICHAEL heard even-song, as then it was called, while he was at his devotion, an ancient man came in, his amber-coloured locks hanging down upon his shoulders, his fore-head high and inclining to baldness, his garment of azure colour, somewhat long, girded about him with a towel or table-napkin, of a comely and reverend aspect. Having enquired for the king, he intruded himself into the croud, passing throw till he came to him, with a clownish simplicity, leaning over the canon's seat where the king sate, Sir, said he, “ I am sent
“ hither to intreat you for this time to delay your ex-
“ pedition, and to proceed no farther in your intended
“ journey: for if you do, ye shall not prosper in your
“ enterprize, nor any of your followers. I am farther
“ charged to warn you, if you be so refractory as to go
“ forwards, not to use the acquaintance, company or
“ counsel of women, as ye tender your honour, life
“ and estate.”

After

After this warning he withdrew himself back again into the croud. When service was ended, the king enquired earnestly for him, but he could no where be found, neither could any of the by-standers (of whom diverse did narrowly observe him, meaning afterwards to have discoursed further with him) feel or perceive how, when or where, he passed from them, having, as it were, vanished among their hands.

After this army had mustered in the Borrow-moor of Edinburgh (a field then spacious and delightful by the shades of many stately and aged oaks) about the midst of the night there is a proclamation heard at the mercat cross of the town; "Summoning a great many "burgesses, gentlemen, barons and noblemen, to appear within forty days before the tribunal of one "PLOTCK:" the provost of the town in his timber gallery having heard his own name cited, cried out, "That he declined that judicatory, and appealed to "the mercy of God almighty."

Nothing was the king moved with those advertisements, thinking them scenic pieces, acted by those who hated the French, and favoured the English faction: being so boldly and to the life personated, that they appaled and struck with fear ordinary and vulgar judgments, as tragi-comedies of spirits. The earl of Angus dissuaded him from that expedition, and many of the most reverend church-men; but the angel which most conjured him, was MARGARET his queen, who at that time was with child; her tears and prayers shook the strongest beams of his resolutions. She had acquainted him with the visions and affrightments of her sleep; that her chains and armlets appeared to be turned into pearls; she had seen him fall from a great precipice; she had lost one of her eyes. When he had answered, "These were but dreams, arising from the many "thoughts and cares of the day. But it is no dream, "said she, that ye have but one son, and him a weakling; if otherwise than well happen unto you, what "a lamentable day will that be, when ye shall leave "behind you, to so tender and weak a successor, under the government of a woman, for inheritance, a "miserable and bloody war? It is no dream that ye are
"to

" to fight a mighty people; now turned insolent by
 " their riches at home and power abroad: that your
 " nobility are indigent ye know, and may be bribed to
 " leave you in your greatest danger: what a folly,
 " what a blindness is it to make this war yours, and to
 " quench the fire in your neighbour's house of France,
 " to kindle and burn up your own in Scotland? Ye have
 " no such reason to assist the French, as ye have to keep
 " your promises to England, and enjoy a peace at home.
 " Though the English should make a conquest of France,
 " will they take your crown, or disinherit their own
 " race, this is even as the left hand would cut off the
 " right? Should the letters of the queen of France, (a
 " woman twice married, the first half in adultery, the
 " last almost incest, whom ye did never, nor shall ever
 " see) prove more powerful with you, than the cries of
 " your little son, and mine; than the tears, complaints,
 " and curses of the orphans and widows which ye are
 " to make? If ye will go, suffer me to accompany you;
 " it may be my country-men prove more kind towards
 " me than they will to you; and for my sake yield un-
 " to a peace. I hear the queen my sister will be with the
 " army in her husband's absence; if we shall meet,
 " who knows what God by our means may bring to
 " pass?"

The king answered all her complaints with a speedy
 march, which he made over the Tweed; not staying
 till the whole forces came to him, which were arising
 and prepared.

The twenty two of August coming into England, he
 encamped near the water of Twisel in Northumberland,
 where at Twisel-haugh he made an act, " That if any
 " man were slain or hurt to death by the English, dur-
 " ing the time of his abode in England, his heirs
 " should have his ward, relief, and marriage." Nor-
 ham, Wark, Ford, Eatel, are taken and cast down.
 Amidst this hostility, the lady FORD, a noble captive,
 was brought in a pity-pleading manner, with her
 daughter, a maid of excellent beauty, to the camp.
 Not without the earl of Surrey's direction, as many sup-
 posed, for they have a vigorous prince, and his son
 (though natural, by the gifts of nature and education

above

above many lawful) to try the magic of their eloquence and beauty upon. The king delighting in their company, not only hearkeneth to the discourse of the mother, but giveth way to her counsel: which was, if she should be dismissed, to send him true and certain intelligence of what the English would attempt, by taking her away to their camp: but in effect proved the winning of time to the earl of Surrey, and the losing of occasion to him. Her few days stay bred in him a kind of carelessness, sloth, procrastination and delay, a neglect, and as it were a forgetfulness, of his army and business. Eighteen days tarrying in England, in a territory not very fertile, had consumed much provision, the soldiers began to want necessaries, and a number in the night by blind paths returned to their own country: in a short time, only the noblemen, and their vassals attending the king. These request him not to spend more time on that barren soil, but to turn their forces against Berwick, which town was of more importance, than all the hamlets and poor villages of Northumberland: neither was it impregnable or difficult to be taken, the town and castle being no ways provided and furnished to endure a siege. The courteous move the king to continue the beleaguering of Berwick till their coming back; which would be an easy conquest, Northumberland once foraged, in absence of the bravest of the English then in France.

Whilst the army languished, and the king spent time at Ford, the earl of Surrey directeth an herald to his camp, requiring him either to leave off the invasion of his master's country, and turn back, giving satisfaction for wrongs committed; or that he would appoint a day and place, wherein all differences might be ended by the sword. This challenge being advised in council, most voices were; "That they should return home, and not with so small a number, as remained, endanger the state of the whole kingdom, enough being already achieved for fame, and too much for their friendship with France: why should a few soldiers, and these already tired out by forcing of strengths and throwing down castles, be hazarded against such multitudes of the English supplied lately and increased with fresh auxiliaries? THOMAS
How-

" HOWARD admiral, a son of the earl of Surrey, hav-
 " ing newly brought with him to Newcastle out of the
 " army lying in France, five thousand chosen men, and
 " one thousand tall seamen. If they should return home,
 " the English army could not but disband, and not
 " conveniently this year be gathered again, consisting
 " of men levied from far and distant places. Again, if
 " they should be engaged to come to a battle; their
 " own country, being fields to them well known, would
 " prove more commodious and secure to fight upon,
 " than English ground, besides the opportunity of fur-
 " nishing and providing the camp with all necessaries at
 " less charges." The French ambassador and others
 " of his faction remonstrate to the king, " What a shame-
 " ful retreat he would make, if at the desire of the ene-
 " my he returned, and without the hazard of a battle;
 " being so near unto him; that by fighting in England,
 " he kept his own country unforged; and consumed
 " the provision of his enemy, which at last would weak-
 " en his forces: that for contentment to both armies,
 " ISLAY a Scottish herald should return with ROUGE-
 " CROSS the English, and condescend upon a day,
 " promising them in the mean time tarrying and abode,
 " till the righteousness of the cause were decided in a
 " battle."

The set and appointed day by the heralds, in which
 the two armies should have joined, being come, and the
 English not appearing, nor any from them, the nobili-
 ty again resort to the king and shew, " How, by the
 " flight of the enemy, matters were prolonged and de-
 " layed from one day to another: the English forces
 " daily encreasing, whilst the Scottish wear away, and
 " waxed fewer; that flight should be opposed to flight;
 " the day designed by the heralds not being kept, it
 " would be no reproach to them to turn home without
 " battle, or, if retiring, to fight upon their own ground.
 " If this counsel pleased him not, but that he would there
 " give them battle, the next was to study all advan-
 " tages for victory, either by stratagem, or the odds
 " and furtherance of the place of fight; where the Che-
 " viot hills decline towards the plainer fields arising
 " behind them with high tops, with best ordnance should
 " be

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“ be fortified; the water of Till running deep and ford-
 “ less upon the right hand, and but passable at the
 “ bridge, the first companies of the enemy being passed,
 “ before they could be relieved and succoured by their
 “ followers, the bridge by the artillery should be beaten
 “ down, and the enemy charged when they began to
 “ pass the water.”

The king, impatient of counsel, answered, “ Though
 “ their number encreased to as many more as they were,
 “ he with that remainder of his army would fight them.
 “ That advantages were to be embraced according to
 “ the occasion of the fight, without tedious deliberation;
 “ if any man was afraid he might, if he pleased, return
 “ home.” A strange resolution in a prince, who imagined every man in his army to have the same strength, courage, boldness and resolution with himself!

This answer astonished the nobility, and since they could not persuade him to a fair retreat, but that he will fight, and that without the advantage of the bridge, being inferior in number to the English (for they were reckoned by the scouts six and twenty thousand) they fortify themselves according to the commodity of the hill, where they lay encamped, with a resolution not to suffer the king to hazard his person in the battle. If victory should incline to them, their gains were but small, and glory less, extending but over some few of the nobility, and a small parcel of the body of the state of England, and a number of yeomen, and pressed horsemen, the flower of the kingdom being in France. But if they were overthrown, their loss would prove incomparable, yea unspeakable, a martial young king either killed, taken, or put to flight: wherefore they think it fitting, not necessary, the king be pleased, with so many as either chance or election might separate with him, to be a spectator of the fortune of the day. To this the king replied; “ He neither wanted ability to
 “ discharge the part of a soldier, nor wisdom to command as a general, and to outlive so many valiant
 “ country-men, would be more terrible to him than
 “ death itself.” When forced to give way for his personal presence, in the field they appoint some to be arrayed in like furniture of arms, and a like guard as the

the king; shadows to personate him in sundry quarters of the field, that the enemy should not set one man as their chief mark to invade, from whose death the victory and conclusion of the war might depend: and if the king should fall, the army should not lose courage, nor be brought to believe he were lost, so long as they saw a general, with his cognizance and guard present and near them to be a witness of their valour and achievements, as not long before, at the battle of Fornou in Italy, had been practised by the French to their king CHARLES.

By this time the earl of Surrey, with the power of the North of England, was come within three miles of the place, where the Scottish army was encamped, and perceiving he could not but with great disadvantage fight them; he sendeth an herald requiring the king to come forth of his strength to some indifferent ground, where he would be ready to encounter him. The king being forward to condescend to this request, the lords cried out: "It was madness to accept of opportunity of fighting from his enemies, and to set all at a main chance according to their appointment, it being their advantage to prolong time, and trifle with him in whose camp there was already scarcity of victuals which ere long might put him to such a stand, that he should not know well what to do. Neither was it likely he could be furnished from the inner parts of the country, by reason of the cumbersome ways for carriages to pass, after the falling of so great and continued rains, and the softening of the ground: that by sitting still, and committing nothing to fortune, he might have his enemy at his pleasure; if they dared assail him, at their perils be it. He lacked nothing but patience to be victorious."

The Scots keeping their trenches, the earl essayeth to draw them out, and the ninth of September, removing his camp marcheth towards the same hill of Flowden where they lay encamped; his van-guard, with the cannon, passeth the water of Till at Twisfel bridge, the reerward going over at Mylnford. King JAMES, seeing them pass the water, imagineth they meant to win a hill between his camp and them; to prevent

which (setting fire to cabanes raised of boughs of trees and reeds) he removeth to another hill, before the English could observe his motion, the smoke darkening the air between the two armies. Whilst the Scottish army was removing, the English advance to the foot of Flowden hill, by which they have double advantage, the Scottish ordnance could not much annoy them, they marching upwards and under the level thereof; again, by their shot, they might easily gall their enemies as they came downwards upon them.

The fatal hour of the battle approaching, the English draw up in good order six and twenty thousand men, some write thirty, in two battails, any of which was equal in number to the whole Scottish army. THOMAS Lord HOWARD, admiral, had the van-guard, of which Sir EDMOND HOWARD his brother led one of the wings, and Sir MARMADUKE CONSTABLE the other; the lords DACRES and CLIFFORD, with Sir EDWARD STANLEY kept the rear: the earl of Surrey, with LATIMER, SCROOP, and Sir STEPHEN BULL, kept the main battail. The Scots by their fewness of number, not being able to order many batallions, marshal themselves in four, three of which should enter in fight, and the fourth attend for supply. The king kept the middle or main: ALEXANDER GORDON earl of Huntley had the right wing of the van; the earls of Crawford and Montrose led the other, and, some have recorded, the lord HUME. The third army was guided by MATTHEW earl of Lenox, and the earl of Argyll, where was MACKENZIE and MACLEAN, with the fierceness of the Highlanders. ADAM HEPBURN, earl of Bothwell, with his friends and the flower of the gentry of Lothian, kept off for sudden dispatches and chances of the battle.

The earl of Huntley making down the hill, where they encamp near the foot of Branktown, encountereth that wing of the English host, which was led by Sir EDMOND HOWARD, which after a furious and long fight he put to flight, and so eagerly pursued the advantage, that Sir EDMOND had either been killed or taken, if he had not been rescued by bastard HERON and the lord DACRES. The batallion which the earls
of

of Lenox and Argyle led, being Highland men, encouraged with this first glance of victory, loosing their ranks, abandoning all order (for ought that the French ambassador LA MOTTE, by signs, threatenings and clamours, could do to hold them) broke furiously upon the enemy, and invade him in the face, of whom they are not only valiantly received, but, by Sir EDWARD STANLEY's traversing the hill, enclosed, cut down at their backs and prostrated. The middle ward, which the king led, with which now the earl of Bothwel with the power of Lothian was joined, fought it out courageously body against body, and sword to sword. Numbers upon either side falling, till darkness and the black shadows of the night, forced, as it were, by consent of both, a retreat: neither of them understanding the fortune of the day, and unto whom victory appertained.

Many brave Scots did here fall, esteemed to be above five thousand, of the noblest and worthiest families of the kingdom; who choosed rather to die, than outlive their friends and compatriots.

The king's natural son ALEXANDER arch-bishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of the Isles, the abbots of Inchceffray and Kilwinning, the earls of Crawfurd, Morton, Argyle, Lenox, Errol, Caithness, Bothwel, Athole, the lords ELPHINSTON, ERSKINE, FORBES, ROSS, LOVET, SINCLAIR, MAXWELL, with his three brothers, SEMPLE, BORTHWICK; numbers of gentlemen, BALGONY, BLACKADER, BONHARD, Sir ALEXANDER SETON, MACKENZIE, with MACLEAN, GEORGE master of Angus, and Sir WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Glenbeivry, with some two hundred gentlemen of their name and vassals, were here slain.

The English left few left upon the place, but most part of them being of the common sort of soldiers, and men of no great mark, compared with so many nobles killed, and a king lost, the number was not esteemed, nor the loss thought any thing of.

The companies of the lord HUME had reserved themselves all the time of the fight, keeping their first order; and, when by the earl of Huntley, he was required to relieve the batallion where the king fought, he is said to have answered, *That that man did well that*

day who stood and saved himself. After the retreat, his followers gathered a great booty of the spoils of the slaughtered. This fight began September 9th, about four of the clock afternoon, and continued three hours, Anno 1513.

About the dawning of the next morning, the lord DACCRES with his troops taking a view of the field, and seeing the brazen ordnance of the Scots not transported, with most part of the fallen bodies not rifled, sendeth speedy advertisement to the HOWARDS and the penfive army; inviting all to the setting up trophies, spoil, and transporting of the great ordnance to Berwick; amongst which were seven culverins, of like size and make, called the seven sisters.

Divers diversly report of the fortune of the king: we, without affirming any thing for certain, shall only set down what same hath published; a false witness often of human accidents, and which many times, by malignant brains is forged, and by more malignant ears received and belived. The English hold that he was killed in this battle; the Scots, that many in like arms with the like guards, were killed, every one of which was held for the king: amongst others ALEXANDER lord ELPHINSTON, his favorite, who had married ELIZABETH BARLEY, one of the dames of honour of queen MARGARET. He was a man not unlike to the king in face and stature, and representing him in arms in the field, with the valiantest and most courageous of the army fought it out, and acting heroically his part, as a king was killed, heaps of slaughtered bodies environing his. In the search where the fight was, the number, tallness, and furniture of the dead bodies being observed, their faces and wounds viewed, his body, as if it yet breathed majesty, was amidst the others selected, acknowledged for his master's, brought to Berwick and embalmed. That it was not the body of the king, the girdle of Iron, which he ever wore, and then was not found about him, gave some, though not certain, testimony.

Some have recorded, that the fortune of the day inclining to the English, four tall men mounted upon lusty horses, wearing upon the points of their lances,

for

for cognizances, streamers of straw, mounting the king on a sorrel hackney, conveyed him far from the place of fight, and that he was seen beyond the Tweed, between Kelso and Duns. After which, what became of him is uncertain. Many hold, he was killed in the castle of Hume, either by the intelligence between the English and the lord HUME's kindred, or out of fear (for they were at the slaughter of the king's father, and the most violent in that fight) or of hopes of great fortunes; which would follow innovations, and the confusion of the state, being men who lived best in a troubled commonwealth and upon the borders.

One CARR, a follower of the lord HUME's, that same night the battle was fought, thrust the abbot of Kelso out of his abbacy: which he never durst attempt, the king being alive. Another, DAVID GARBRAITH, in the time of JOHN the governor, vaunted; that however JOHN wronged the HUMES, he was one of six who had abated the insolence of king JAMES, and brought him to know he was mortal. To these is added, that the governor JOHN, not long hereafter, did cut off the heads of the lord HUME, and his brother, without any known great cause. The common people, ever more addicted to superstition than verity, believed he was living, and had passed over the seas, and, according to his promise, visited the holy sepulchre in Palestine: and that there, for his other offences, and the bearing of arms against his father, in prayers and penance, he spent the remainder of his tedious days. That he would return again when he found opportunity, and the necessity of Europe required him. This report was of as great truth, as that which the Britains have of the return of their king ARTHUR, and the Burgundians not long before conceived of their duke CHARLES after the battle of Nancy, most of them believing he escaped from the conflict. He was lost the twenty fifth year of his reign, the thirty ninth of his age.

This king was of a vigorous body, his stature being neither too tall nor too low, of a pleasant countenance, of a pregnant wit; but by the faults of the times in which he lived, not polished with letters. He excelled

in horse-manship, fencing and shooting. By much watching, slender diet, and use, he was enabled to endure all extremities of weather, scarcity, and want of rest, with good health of body.

He was just in giving judgment, in punishing malefactors severe, yet tractable and moderate. With the peril of some few he restrained vices, and rather shook the sword than struck with it. He knew there were some things, though princes might, yet they ought not to do. He was easy of access, most courteous in speech, and meek in answering every man. He was so far from being overtaken with anger, or other violent perturbations, that he was never observed to have given an evil or disobliging word to any, or that the colour of his face changed by any offence offered him, or informations given him, relying without passion upon his own magnanimity.

He was of a free and liberal disposition, far from any ostentation. As he understood well the art of giving, so to acquire and purchase he was not sufficient of himself, but made use of men, who drew more hatred upon their own heads, than money into their prince's coffers.

Though he delighted more in Mars than the muses, he was a great admirer and advancer of learned men. WILLIAM ELPHINSTON bishop of Aberdeen, builded, by his liberality, the college of Aberdeen, and named it the king's college, by reason of those privileges and rents the king bestowed upon it.

His generosity did shew itself in not delivering of PERKIN WARBECK: he trusted much, and had great confidence in his nobility, and governed, by love not by fear, his people.

It is no wonder, amidst so much worth, that some human frailty, and some according discord be found. There is no day so bright and fair, which one moment or other looketh not pale, and remaineth not with some dampish shadow of discoloured clouds. He was somewhat wedded to his own humour, opinionative and rash; actions of rashness and temerity, even although they may have an happy event, being never praise-worthy in a prince. He was so infected with that illustrious crime,

erime, which the ambitious take for virtue, desire of fame, that he preferred it to his own life, and the peace of his subjects.

He so affected popularity, and endeavoured to purchase the love of his people, by largesses, banqueting, and other magnificence, diving himself in debt; that by those subsidies and exactions, which of necessity he should have been constrained to have levied and squeezed from the people, longer life had made him lose all that favour and love he had so painfully purchased, that death seemed to have come to him wishedly, and in good time.

The wedding of other's quarrels, especially of the French, seemeth in him inexcusable; a wise prince should be slow and loath to engage himself in a war although his hath suffered some wrong. He should consider that of all human actions and hazards there is no one of which the precipitation is so dangerous, as that of beginning and undertaking a war. Neither, in human affairs, should there more depths be sounded, nor hidden passages searched and pryed into, than in this. He should remember, that besides the sad necessity which is inseparable from the most innocent war (the wasting and destroying of the goods and lives of much people) there is nothing of which the revolutions and changes are more inconstant, and the conclusions and ends more uncertain.

The sea is not more treacherous, false and deceiving, nor changeth more swiftly her calms into storms, than wars and the fortune of arms do, the event and success belying the beginning. It is not enough that a prince know a war which he undertaketh to be just, but he should consider also if it be necessary, and if it be profitable, and conduce to the state, which he governeth.

As men of strong and healthful bodies follow ordinarily delight in their youth, he was sometimes amorously carried away. He confined the earl of Angus in the isle of Arran, for taking JANE KENNEDY, a daughter of the earl of Cassils, out of Galloway, a fair and noble lady, of whom he became enamoured as he went in his pilgrimage to St. Ninian's. In his last expedition

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the lady FORD was thought to have hindered the progress of his arms, and hastened the success of the battle.

Though virtue be sometimes unfortunate, yet is it ever in an high esteem in the memories of men : such a desire remained of him in the hearts of his people, after his loss, that the like was not of any king before him : princes who are out of this life being only the delights and darlings of a people. ANNE the French queen not many days out-lived the rumour of his death. He serves for an example of the frailty of great men on the theatre of this world, and of the inconstancy of all sub-lunary things.

He had children, JAMES and ARTHUR, who died Infants; JAMES who succeeded him; ALEXANDER, Born after his death, who died young; ALEXANDER a natural son, arch-bishop of St. Andrews, so much admired and regretted by ERASMUS; MARGARET, of a daughter of the lord DRUMMOND's, married to the earl of Huntley (whose mother had been contracted to the king, and taken away, to his great regret, by those who governed the state, that he should not follow the example of king ROBERT his predecessor, who married a lady of that family) and JAMES earl of Murray.

THE

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H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
L I F E and R E I G N
O F
J A M E S V.

TH E fatal accident and overthrow of the king, and flower of the nobility of Scotland, at Flowden, filled the remnant of the state with great sorrow, but with greater amazement and perplexity: for by this great change they expected no less than the progress and advancement of the victor's arms and fortune, and feared the conquest, servitude and desolation of the whole kingdom. The rigorous season of the year being spent in mourning and performing the funeral rites for their lost kinsmen and friends; and the gathering together the floating ribs and dispersed planks of this ship-wreck; the peers assembled at Stirling, where applying themselves to set their confusions in order, and determine on the remedies of their present evils, the lively portrait of their calamities did represent itself to the full view. The head and fairest parts, which majesty, authority, direction, and wisdom, had made eminent,

eminent, were cut away, some turbulent church-men, orphaned noblemen, and timorous citizens, filled their vacant places; and many who needed directions themselves, were placed to direct and guide the helm of state: such miseries being always incident to a people, where the father of the country is taken away, and the successor is of under-age. In this maze of perplexity, to disoblige themselves of their greatest duty, and give satisfaction to the most and best, the lawful successor and heir, JAMES the prince, is set on the throne and crowned, being at that time one year five months and ten days of age, and the hundred and fifth king of Scotland. The last will and testament, which the late king had left before his expedition, being publicly seen and approved, the queen challenges the protection of the realm and tutelage of her son, as disposed unto her so long as she continued a widow, and followed the counsel and advice of the chancellor of the realm, and some other grave counsellors, and she obtaineth it; as well out of a religion they had to fulfil the will of their deceased sovereign, as to shun and be freed of the imminent arms and imminent danger of her brother the king of England. Being established in the government, and having from all that respect, reverence and observance, which belong to such a princess, she sent letters to the king of England; "That having compassion upon the
 " tears and prayers of a widow, of his sister, of an orphan, of his nephew, he would not only cease from
 " following the war upon Scotland, then at war with it-
 " self, and many ways divided, but ennobled by cou-
 " rage and goodness, be a defence unto her and the in-
 " fant, her son, against all injuries to be offered them
 " by foreigners abroad, or any of the factious nobility,
 " who would oppose themselves against her at home." To which king HENRY answered, "That with the peace-
 " able he would entertain peace, and with the froward
 " and turbulent, war; if the Scots would live in peace,
 " they should have it for his part, but if they would ra-
 " ther fight, he was not to refuse them. That her hus-
 " band had fallen by his own indiscreet rashness, and
 " foolish kindness to France: that he regretted his death
 " as his ally, and should be willing to prohibit all ho-
 " stility

"flitly against the country of Scotland, during the minority of her son." For a remedy of present evils, one year's truce and a day longer was yielded unto; in which time he had leisure to prosecute his designs against France, without fear of being disturbed or diverted by the incursions and inroads of the Scots upon his borders.

The government of a woman and a child over a people, ever in motion, mutinous and delighting in changes, could not long subsist firm, nor continue after one fashion. The first shake and disorders of the kingdom arose, and were occasioned by the ambition and avarice of the churchmen, the moth-worms of state, being seconded by the factious nobles and malecontents, concerning the distribution of the offices, places, and benefices, vacant by the deaths of those slain in the late battle. **ANDREW FORMAN** archbishop of Bourges, bishop of Murray, and legate to pope **JULIUS**, **GAVIN DOUGLAS** bishop of Dunkeld, uncle to the earl of Angus, and **JOHN HEPBURN** prior of St. Andrews, contend all three for the archbishopric of St. Andrews. **GAVIN DOUGLAS** was presented to it by the queen, **ANDREW FORMAN** by the pope, **JOHN HEPBURN** was chosen by the chapter his canons; and sundry of the nobility favoured his election; they said also, that the place whilst it was vacant belonged unto him: and his party was so strong that none durst publish the pope's bull in favour of **ANDREW FORMAN** for many days; till **ALEXANDER** lord **HUME** then chamberlain, and warden of the east marches, won by many promises, and the abbacy of Coldingham engaged and presently given in hand to his younger brother **DAVID**, in despite of the opposition of the lord **HAILES** and the faction of the **HEPBURNS**, then seditious and powerful; well backed by his friends, vassals and adherents all in arms, caused publish and proclaim it at the mercat-cross of Edinburgh: which action first incensed the prior to plot mischief against the family of the **HUMES**. **WILLIAM ELPHINSTON** bishop of Aberdeen, by many of the clergy and some of the nobility, had been desired to accept this dignity, but he refused it, being now weary

weary of earthly greatness, and making for another world; for at this time at Edinburgh he left this.

As ordinarily, when one faction is near extinguished, the remnant subdivideth, after these jars of the churchmen, which were cherished by the nobility, the nobles began to jar among themselves, and grudge at others preferments. ALEXANDER lord GORDON, ruled and commanded the countries North-ward the river of Forth; as ALEXANDER lord HUME usurped almost a royal authority, and commanded over the countries on the South-side of the Forth; the earl of Angus went about a fairer conquest.

JAMES earl of Arran lord HAMILTON, being nearest in blood to the king, could not but with indignation look upon the undeserved greatness of these usurpers. Under the shadow of this oligarchy, turbulent, evil disposed, and men abhorring quietness, ravaged the country, and did what they pleased.

Amidst these confusions, the queen in April brought forth a posthumous child in the castle of Stirling, whom the bishop of Caithness, abbot of Dunfermline, and the arch-dean of St. Andrews, baptized and named ALEXANDER. After she was recovered and had acquired her wonted strength of body, she found the authority of her place was turned weak, and that she enjoyed nothing but the name of governing, the people delighting to live rather without rule and in all disorders, than to be subject to the obedience of a woman, though a queen. After great deliberation and many essays in vain to curb their insolence, and vindicate her authority from their contempt, as also to save her son from the dangers of an insulting nobility, and settle her estate, she resolved to match with some nobleman, eminent in power and worth, who could and would protect her and hers in the greatest extremities. Amongst the choice of the young noblemen of Scotland, for a long succession of renowned ancestors, comeliness of person, noble conversation, and prudence in affairs of state, being lovely, courteous, liberal and wise, none was comparable to the earl of Angus: him she determines to make partner of her royal bed and fortunes; and as ordinarily in matters of love, it falleth out, by the impatience of delay, without

without acquainting her brother the king of England, or the nobles of the kingdom with her design; she afterwards marieth him, transferring, if she could, the whole weight of the kingdom and the reins of the government of the state into his hands, having no more freedom in her own determinations.

No sooner was this revealed to the world, when the nobility and gentry divided into two factions, one adhering to the DOUGLAS, in whom kindred, friendship and long observance had bred hopes of benefits and preferment; another of such whom envy of his greatness and advancement had made hungry of change. The first would have the government continued in the queen's person and her husband's: because hereby the realm should still have peace with England, which at that time was the most necessary point to be respected. The adverse party, of which the lord chamberlain was the principal, who was a man both in power, parentage, and riches, equal to, if not beyond, many of the great men of the country, importuned the election of a new governor and protector of the young king. The queen losing by her marriage both the tutelage of her son and the government, should not take it to heart that another were chosen and put in her place. Her marrying the earl of Angus had made him too great already to be a subject, the continuing of her in authority would promote him to the greatness of a prince. Who should be governor, is upon both sides long and contentiously argued. Many gave their voices for the earl of Arran, as being near in blood to the king; and a man affecting peace more than others, and every way sufficient for such a charge. The chamberlain had determined of another, and told, it was a wrong to bar from so high an honour a man of the masculine line in blood to the king, and prefer one of the feminine. JOHN duke of Albany, son to ALEXANDER duke of Albany, the brother of king JAMES III, before all others, by all reason should be preferred to the government. Being demanded if he would be the first, to give example to others, who would set his hand to this election, he without pausing performed it, with a protestation, that though the rest of the nobility opposed it, as to his coming

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ing into Scotland to accept the government, he alone would go to France, charge him with it, be his conveyer hither, and maintain his title.

This he was thought to have done, for that, despairing to reach and obtain this dignity himself, out of emulation, he laid a design, that never any other of the nobles of the kingdom should reach it; affecting rather to give a stranger the place, than a competitor, bringing in the French to equal the ballance as principal, himself only as accessory, nothing doubting of a chief place in state, as well for his forwardness in this election, as for the necessity of his service which the French could not well want, and should never be lacking. He feared also, if the faction of the DOUGLASSES prevailed, the greatness of the earl of Angus would be an umbrage to his, and lessen and impair it; their lands and fortunes lying near to other, as that the queen by her power in England would cross his fairest projects.

The king of England had sent a letter to the lords of Scotland, as he had done to the French king for that same effect, remonstrating how dangerous it was for the state of Scotland, and the young king, if they should make choice of the duke of Albany.

Notwithstanding all which, through ambition, malice, envy of others, discords among themselves, they made choice of this gentleman, a stranger by his education and birth, ignorant of the nature and manners of the Scots; whose father was banished for treason against his brother, and died un-restored; one altogether devoted to the French king, and an enemy to the English; not caring to keep the country of Scotland in wars and troubles, so he might defend the French nation, by making the Scots fight their battles.

After many private letters from his friends in Scotland, especially from the chamberlain, inviting him to come home, and accept his new dignity, the duke at last is required by the states, and Lyon king of arms is directed to him, to acquaint him with their proceedings, and make him forward on his way. He to endear his coming, and make himself the more desired of the people, excusing his stay for a while (which he laid upon the treaty of peace, which was then to be agreed upon between

between England and France, by the marriage of LOUISE the French king with MARY, the youngest sister of HENRY king of England, which required his presence) sendeth home the king of arms with letters from the French king with Sir ANTHONY D'ARCEY le Sieur de la Beauté. This man proposed certain conditions, which the duke required: "What should be the form of his government, his guards, what castles should be delivered to him for his garrisons; the restoring his patrimony and father's dignities to him." Which particularities being considered unto, the castle of Dunbar was instantly delivered to la Beauté to be kept for a French garrison at the duke's coming; and Sir PATRICK HAMILTON, brother to the earl of Arran, JAMES OGILBY abbot of Aberbrothock, with the king of arms, were sent back again to France. After their arrival, the duke of Albany, being furnished with all necessaries by the French king, with eight well rigged ships took the seas, and in the month of May arrived on the West coasts of Scotland, from whence with a great train of the nobles and barons of the country, by easy journeys, the queen meeting him, he came to the town of Edinburgh. In the parliament which had been prebowed for his coming, the duke accepted the government of the kingdom, and gave his oath of fidelity to the king and country, and the three estates gave their oath of obedience to him; and both swore, That in the administration of justice, neither should be deficient to others. Here is he restored to all his father's inheritance, titles and honours: being declared duke of Albany, earl of March, and governor of the kingdom till the king's full maturity. Many laws are made for the well of the kingdom, and to gratify his lineage, JAMES the natural son of JAMES IV. is created earl of Murray.

As the presence of this new governor, the face of the state turned more beautiful, and the court more royal; oppression is restrained, justice sincerely executed, the court is frequented with good and virtuous men, and malefactors and naughty persons banish themselves. He maketh a progress to all the notable towns of the kingdom, seeing crimes punished and faults amended.

Being

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Being a stranger, and not thoroughly acquainted with the municipal statutes and particular practices of the country, in great and important matters, he proceedeth by the instructions and informations of some choice men of the nation itself; especially, since he was not infinite to listen to the advice of every one, he gave himself to hearken and follow the opinion and counsel of JOHN HERBURN prior of St. Andrews; whose judgment, in his greatest difficulties, he receives as an oracle. This man being of a subtil wit, malicious, crafty, rich, and endowed with some courtly eloquence, by a counterfeited pretence of knowlege of the affairs of the kingdom and state, neither in some things did he err, at first being familiar with the duke, and in a little time after, by bribing secretly some of his choice servants, turned his only privado, and almost possessed alone his judgment and ear. "He informed him of the strength and riches of the country, of the nature of the people, and manner of their laws; and revealed to him many secrets of the government. He gave him a catalogue of the whole deadly feuds and divisions amongst the noblemen and gentry, opening unto him which were inveterate, and had long continued, and which were recent, and upon what accidents they had their beginnings. How in prosecuting revenge in them, they cared not how innocent any man was, if he were of the name and alliance, but rather thought the more innocent any was, the more it testified their spite, which they desired to manifest by taking him away. He shewed him what factions were in the kingdom, who swayed them, and were the heads. He told him the Scots were a violent fierce people, muniously proud, and knew not whom to obey without the sword were drawn. That they were never absolutely governed by their own kings themselves, far less would they be ruled by him who was but a governor, and half a stranger. King JAMES I. they had killed; they had made a league against king JAMES II; in open battle they had overthrown king JAMES III; and the last king was by best judgments, thought to have been secretly taken away." Here (calling to mind the proclaiming of the arch-bishop ANDREW FOR-

"MAN'S

MAN's bull) he omitted nothing could derogate from the chamberlain's reputation and honour, and breed an evil opinion of him in the governor.

"He instructed him, how the great houses of Scotland were so joined and linked together, by kindred, alliances, bonds of service; or man-rent, that no gentleman of any quality, although a malefactor and a guilty person, could be presented to justice without some stir, commotion, or tumult of the grandees and their factious friends. Amidst so many strong parties and confederate malecontents, the governor by the power of the Scots themselves, and his own kindred, friends and followers, was not powerful enough safely to administer justice. For which cause, the king of France should be implored to send hither competent forces to quell the insolencies, and shake the pride of the factious nobles. The heads of the factions, which had a principal sway in the kingdom at that time, would either be cut off, or kept under, but with such cunning and dexterity, that it should not be perceived nor found out. That many were aimed at and interested when some few did suffer and fall. That for the present, there were three heads to be looked unto, as feared, and like to bring novations in the state, being men able to change the present government.

"The earl of Angus, a man in the prime of his youth, of high-flying thoughts by his alliance with the king of England, and that estimation the people conceived of him by the merits of his ancestors, and the singular love the subjects bare him, carried a mind above the fortune of a private man; and seemed not born to live a subject's life; each action of his bearing in it majesty and magnificence; he had power to hurt, if he would hurt.

"The lord chamberlain, a man unpolished, stubbornly stout, hazardous, mighty in riches and power, and consequently proud; of a working mind and vehement spirit, whom time and experience had hardened by great exploits and dangerous actions, who had had the malice to be a spectator of the discomfiture of his
"prince

" prince and country-men at Flouiden, was likely to attend the opportunity of traverses and changes.

" The third was the arch-bishop ANDREW FOXMAN, once secretary to the pope, who though he was not of any noble stem nor descent of blood, nor for his followers, friends and adherents much to be taken notice of or feared, yet considering him, as his legate-ship, plurality of benefices, many pensions from princes, had gilded him over; and ballancing him by his present treasure, he could make a weak party strong, and add weight to what side soever he inclined. He was therefore with piercing eyes to be looked into, and all his actions and ways to be observed."

The governor gave no great attention to what the prior had instructed against the arch-bishop, having before had some inkling of the rancour, grudge, and enmity between them. And he was conscious the arch-bishop's riches were above envy; he having been ever more solicitous magnificently to spend what he had acquired, than to hoord up. Neither did he bestow so much upon any of his country-men, as he did upon the French, the friends and servants of the governor. He knew he was also so circumspect, as not to adhere to any of the factions of the time, in a neutrality indifferently and friendly entertaining all his compatriots.

Nor was he much moved at his information concerning the earl of Angus, finding him a man peaceable, courteous to all, and affable; and though of aspiring thoughts, carried often away with his private delights and courtly pleasures.

But what the prior informed against the lord chamberlain he deeply ingraved in his memory, and ever after his countenance bewrayed certain flaws of ill concealed discontent. Neither did he thereafter shew him wonted favours; which the chamberlain observing, and guessing at the change of the governor's mind towards him by more than ordinary evidences and signs, he having been the only man who wrought his advancement and coming to Scotland, his deserts now being either forgot or ungratefully remembered, full of grief and disdain, he retired from the court to his own castle; where,

where, when he had rested a while, half astonished to see his hopes so frustrated, he taketh new resolutions and determinations to play the governor double or quit. Hereafter he leaveth no means untried to become entire with the queen and her husband, and by observance and frequent meeting with them, he wrought himself not only to be embraced as their friend, but as their counsellor, and one in whom they had greatest confidence. He many times with them deplored the public calamity, when his own particular only stung him, accusing himself of his too much forwardness in calling home a man born an exile, whose father died banished for his ambition, and had essayed to take the crown from his eldest brother. "Since this man was the nearest of blood to succeed, who could not perceive his last work would be the making away the innocent child, his pupil, to ascend the royal throne himself; in the height of malice accomplishing what his father, out of a desire to rule, did project? by his tender years the king could not understand nor prevent his danger, his mother might and should anticipate it, that new necessities required new remedies; only one postern gate remained yet open, which was, that the queen would transport her son to England, and trust herself, and what she held dearest, to the faith and protection of her brother."

When this plot was whispered to the governor, who wanted not his own emissaries among the queen's attendants, it was no sooner revealed than believed, and no sooner believed, when (being a forward and vehement man, and who used celerity in all his actions) with as many men as haste could suffer him to gather, forthwith he marched at midnight from Edinburgh to Stirling; there unawares he surprized the castle, and in it the queen with her two sons. A council being assembled, the king with his brother ALEXANDER are sequestered from their mother, and trusted to the custody of four lords, who by turns interchangeably should attend the two princes, and have a care of their education. That no violence should be offered them, certain gentlemen of the French and Scots are appointed still to wait on and guard them. From this suspicion the seeds of enmity

enmity began to be sown between the queen and the governor, which neither time nor wisdom thereafter could take away and root out,

Amidst this storm of court, the lord chamberlain being brought to a new traverse of his thoughts, with his brother Mr. WILLIAM HUME fly towards England; the queen with her husband and Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, his brother, with an unexpected suddenness haste to Tantallon, and from thence to Berwick, from which they had a convoy to the nunnery of Coldstream: here they attended advertisement from the king of England what course to follow, and know his pleasure. He recommended them to the protection and care of the lord DACRES, and assigned the castle of Harbottle in Northumberland for his sister's residence, during her abode in these Northern parts, and the troubles of Scotland.

The governor, not a little perplexed at the flight and escape of those conspirators, sendeth ambassadors to the court of England to clear himself to the king, of what might be surmised against him concerning these new strangers come to his country. "He had done nothing, which should have offended the queen, made her afraid, or to entertain or harbour a sinister thought of his proceedings. Neither did he intend any thing against these who had followed and accompanied her, which should have moved them to leave their country; unto which if they pleased to return, they should be welcome, enjoy their wonted freedom, and keep peaceably what they had possessed. If they were conscious to themselves of any misdemeanor, he would not be too precise in the search of it." He also trafficked by the friends of those who favoured the DOUGLASSES and HUMES to persuade them to a return, giving them fair promises of obtaining what they should demand; till at last he moved them to bow and yield to his desires. The fugitive gentlemen returned; but the queen being with child, and near the time of her delivery, was necessitated to stay still, till at Harbottle castle she brought forth her daughter MARGARET, afterward grand-mother to JAMES king of Great-Britain. So soon as she was able to endure travel, and
be

be transported, king HENRY, with an honourable retinue, brought her to his court, where she was by him, and her sister MARY, late queen of France, welcomed. In May she made her progress through London to Baynard's castle, and from thence to Greenwich: where, in honour of his sister's coming, king HENRY, with no less valour than magnificence, kept two solemn days of tilting and barriers.

The contrivers of the exploit of transporting the king to England being within the country, and, as it were, secure, the governor, whose head was filled with suspicions, not thinking himself bound by promises, will have them give a reckoning of their enterprize and flight into England. Against some he hath clear proofs, fair and manifest evidences; against others bare surmises and naked suspicions, for they had not left the country, nor had been partakers of the queen's fortunes. Here with an unexpected suddenness, Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS uncle to the earl of Angus, bishop of Dunkeld, and Mr. PATRICK PANTHER secretary to the late king, were committed; Mr. GAVIN in the castle of St. Andrews, and Mr. PATRICK in Garvet castle. The lord DRUMMOND, grand-father to the earl of Angus, having beaten a lyon herald, who too imperiously and unmannerly had given him a charge to answer to such things as should be objected against him, was imprisoned in the castle of Blackness. ALEXANDER, lord HUME, being charged to answer for his actions and proceedings, and not appearing, was denounced rebel, his moveables seized on and brought to the exchequer. Stirred up and irritated by this out-rage, he maketh roads upon the neighbouring bounds, plundereth Dunbar, which was the governor's chief resort; and to revenge his wrongs, setteth on work the rank-riders and robbers on the borders. To repress and bridle this ravaging, the governor, in person, with a thousand hardy soldiers marcheth to the borders, and directeth some companies to find out the lord HUME: but he, either dismayed at the worth and fortune of the governor, or broken and bowing under the burden of his own miseries, or overcome with the requests of his friends, cometh to the governor, and submitted his life

life and estate to his faith and clemency. Being brought to Edinburgh, he is trusted to the custody of JAMES earl of Arran, the husband of his sister, with threatnings under pain of high treason, that he should not part with him, nor suffer him to escape. The lord MUMF had not long stayed in the castle of Edinburgh, when with glosses of probabilities of changes casual, and such as might fall out, he moved the earl of Arran, to be of his mind, and brought him to conspire against the governor, and hazard to put himself in his place of state.

“He himself was the only man who had brought in the governor, and he knew well how to put him out, if the earl would be of the party, and by his negligence not reject a supreme honour thrown in his arms. He is begun already not to be loved, if he was not already hated by the subjects for his imperious proceedings. If the king of England could find but some few noblemen to make head against him, he would constrain him to leave the country. The earl of Arran was nearest heir to the king; it was more reason he should be second in the kingdom than JOHN, who though descended of a brother, yet was but descended of a banished man, and a stranger to the Scots nation, with whom they had not so much as intercourse and familiarity of language.” After many such like inducements, the prisoner took away his keepers with him to the South parts of the country; and both by letters to their familiars, kindred, and acquaintance, and private meetings with other noblemen, strove to make strong and increase their faction.

In the beginning of the spring, JOHN STUART earl of Lenox, the sister's son of the earl of Arran, lifted himself in the party of the conspiring lords, and with a number of his friends and followers invested the castle of Glasgow; which if they could have kept, had been a great advancement to their intentions. But the governor gathering an army of as many as haste would suffer him to assemble, the defenders not being strong enough to resist him, recovered the castle with small loss of his men. After which, in indignation he marched to throw down the castle of Hamilton; here victorious anger was conquered by pity and compassion: for the

the old countess of Arran being at that time there resident (who was daughter to king JAMES II. sister to king JAMES III. mother to the earl of Arran, grandmother to the earl of Lenox, aunt to the governor) a lady venerable for years and virtues, with tears of affection and sorrow, falling down at the governor's feet, and received by him with great commiseration, in a merciful manner, not only preserved the castle, but by the means of the arch-bishop, ANDREW FORMAN, entered into a treaty for peace to her son, and the earl of Lenox. And, in November following, the two earls coming to Edinburgh, by the means of this arch-bishop, were reconciled to the governor and all former offences pardoned. About this time (his mother being far from him to discharge the last duties of affection towards him) ALEXANDER duke of Rothsay, brother to the king, a child to admiration beautiful and delightful, died at Stirling, and was buried in the abby-church of Cambuskenneth.

The term of peace between the two kingdoms being almost expired, and both having a desire to continue it, the English sent their commissioners to Coldingham, to whom the duke, then residing at Dunbar, sent monsieur DU PLAINS ambassador for the French king, Sir WILLIAM SCOT of Balwery, and GAVIN DUNBAR arch-dean of St. Andrews. These, after some altercation concerning the Scottish fugitives, conclude a peace between the nations from the midst of January till the feast of Whitsuntide thereafter. The English comprehended in the articles the earl of Angus, the lord HUME, and the rest of the queen's strayed faction, with all their kinsmen, clients and followers. The lord HUME was received again into the governor's favour, with condition, that if he after break his promises and oaths, his old faults should be remembered and joined to his new. Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS and Mr. PATRICK PANTHER were set at liberty, the lord DRUMMOND, who had been forfeited, was again restored, the earl of Angus, with these who had followed him, with many ceremonies, and great shew of friendship, was welcomed again to the court.

The disorders of the kingdom called a parliament, in which many acts were made to restrain and keep under bold and wicked men, and preserve the peace of the kingdom. In this parliament it was ordained, the king's brother ALEXANDER being deceased, that the governor should be reputed second person of the realm, and next heir to the crown. Notwithstanding the claim made by ALEXANDER STUART the elder brother of the governor, who was begotten on a daughter of the earl of Orkney, to whom the duke of Albany their father had been lawfully joined in marriage before his coming to France; and thus before the marrying of the earl of Bullogne's daughter, the mother of JOHN the governor: upon which ground, ALEXANDER had great reason to make his claim and protestation as heir to his father. Notwithstanding his challenge and bravado, ALEXANDER, being more fit for a cowl than a crown, in open parliament gave over all title he had to the crown in his brother's favour. Whereupon to deprive him ever hereafter of lawful succession, they turned him priest, being made bishop of Murray, and abbot of Scoon.

A truce being sincerely kept with England, tumults within the country appeased, particular deadly feuds and jars of private persons either curbed or smothered up, the governor giveth himself some weeks to his courtly recreations at Falkland. With what pastime soever he be delighted, or beguile the hours all the day long, in the night he is often haunted by his old familiar the prior of St. Andrews, whom ambition, spite, and malice never suffered to take any rest.

This man put in the governor's head, and made him believe, " That his endeavours and pains heretofore
 " would prove but vain in settling the government,
 " and that the peace of the kingdom should never be
 " lasting, firm and permanent, if so dangerous a subject as the lord chamberlain remained alive: whom
 " neither rewards could soften, nor honours and preferment oblige and make constant. How many
 " times had he been pardoned? How often, and without a cause, had he returned again to his former conspiracies? Should the governor of his own free-will,
 " or,

“ or, of necessity, be moved to return to France; what
 “ would not the boldness of this man attempt in his
 “ absence, which his authority and presence could ne-
 “ ver curb and keep within compals? The life of this
 “ man would be the death and total ruin of the peace,
 “ of the concord and harmony of the state, bring forth
 “ nothing but dangerous and wicked effects; the vio-
 “ lence of ambition having pulled him from his own
 “ judgment. Should he be challenged, and put to a trial
 “ of his peers, he could not shun the blow of justice, the
 “ cry of his oppression and wrongs having reached
 “ heaven. A member so often in vain cured and still
 “ gangrened should be cut off.”

The governor, whose brains the prior had now em-
 brued with jealousies, thought it no great matter, upon
 the informations he had received, to put the chamber-
 lain to a trial; for if he proved not guilty, it would be but
 to leave him in that state and case he was found in; and
 calumnies though they do not burn, yet blacken. Be-
 ing come to Edinburgh, he appointed a convention of
 the nobility, all which time he earnestly trafficked with
 the friends of the lord chamberlain that he should not
 be absent, the matters to be determined in council con-
 cerning him nearly, and he having need of his advice
 and counsel.

The court and city being full of whisperings, and
 expectation of some sudden change, many dissuaded the
 chamberlain from appearing; or if he appeared, that he
 would leave his brother master WILLIAM, a man e-
 qual in judgment and courage to himself, behind. He
 trained into false hopes by the blandishments of the go-
 vernor towards his friends, and inveigled by presumpti-
 on, with his brother, and Sir ANDREW, called by the
 country lord DANDCAR of Farnehall, cometh to court,
 where they were with many ceremonies welcomed by
 the governor, with more than ordinary favours enter-
 tained, and shortly after all three imprisoned, produced
 in judgment to answer to such things as should be ob-
 jected against them according to the laws of the king-
 dom, and submitted to the sentence of a jury. No new
 crime was laid to their charge; JAMES earl of Murray,
 the natural son of the late king, accused the chamber-

lain of the death of his father : who by many witnesses was proved alive, and seen to have come from the battle of Flowden. This by pregnant evidences not being proved, he was indicted of divers other points of treason : and his private faults were found out and laid against him : they renew the memory of the late stirs of state, and these disorders, of which he was either the author, or accessory to them. He had favoured and maintained the factions, thefts and robberies of wicked malefactors on the borders : he had not honourably nor honestly carried himself at the battle of Flowden, performing neither the duty of a soldier nor commander. He had suffered the English to repair, and of new fortify the castle of Northam, which without either trouble to himself, or danger to his friends, he might have hindered. Of every of which points and particularities he not clearly justifying himself, the judges, prepared and directed by the governor (whom they record to have given information of a heinous crime committed by the chamberlain and his brother, for the odiousness of it not to be revealed to the people) pronounce him and his brother guilty, and condemn them to have their heads cut off. The day following, the sentence was put in execution, and their heads fixed on the most eminent part of the town of Edinburgh. DAND CAR of Farnesthaft, either by the jury, being declared not guilty, as some have recorded, or by the corrupting of his keepers, as others, or by the permission of the governor, escaped this danger ; which brought the people to believe the chamberlain was by his means entrapped, to sink whom he put himself in hazard of drowning.

This calamity of the family of the HUMES, being so ancient, potent and courageous, bred terror and astonishment in many of the other noblemen of the kingdom, and estranged their hearts from the governor ; his ears began to be after attentive to every rumour, and his eyes pried into each accident : at last, as if he were wearied with wrestling with the many disorders, and cumbersome factions of the country, he sought how by some fair way he might for a while return to France. Ambassadors being sent from king FRANCIS to Scotland to renew the ancient league between the two nations,

tions, when the nobles assembled to make choice of the man, on whom they should transfer the honour of the accomplishment of so solemn an action, and pass to France, the governor carried the matter so, by means of the French, that it was conferred on himself, but with this condition, to entertain them with hopes of his return, that he should not stay above six months out of the country. Having obtained this privileged absence of them, his next care was to preserve the state from any alterations till his return, and to find the government as he had left it. Hereupon, to preserve the person of the king, he is conveyed from Stirling to the castle of Edinburgh, and trusted to the custody of the earl Marishal, the lords RUTHVEN and BORTHWICK, two of which should always reside with him, and accompany and assist the lord ERSKINE, his constant and unremoveable guardian. For the government of the state he leaveth seven deputies in his place, the earls of Arran, Angus, Huntley, Argyle, the arch-bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow; to these is joined Sir ANTHONY DARCEY le Sieur de la Beauté, whom he had made captain of Dunbar, and promoted to be, in the lord HUMER's place, warden of the East marches, keeping the days of truce and justice-courts. This was the man to whom the intire conduct of all the governor's affairs was intrusted, and who should give him advertisement of what did pass in Scotland, during his absence in France. That no discord should arise amongst men equal in places and authority, the ordinary occasion of division, several shires which they should govern to every one of them are allotted. To Sir ANTHONY DARCEY was destined the government of the Merse and Lothian; to the other their shires were appointed, as the convenience of their dwelling-places, friends and kindred did afford them. Under pretexts and fair colours of honour, and as to pass the time, and be trained in French civility, also for the greater magnificence, the governor took in his company the earl of Lenox, the Lord GORDON, masters of Glencairn and Arran, and other young lords; who in effect were so many hostages, that no stir, by their parents, kindred, or friends, should be raised during his absence. He likewise under dark

shadows and far-fought pretences committed to such castles as were garrisoned with French soldiers, as **Dunbarton**, **Dunbar**, **Garvet**, certain barons of the South and West countries, who wanted nothing but liberty, nor for any thing they had done, but what they might do, the governor being out of the kingdom. Matters brought to such a pass as his best politicians could devise, accompanied with **Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS** bishop of **Dunkeld**, and **Mr. PATRICK PANTHER**, secretary to the late king, men whom he feared to leave behind him, and entertained, though he knew they loved him not, as his bosom friends, in June at **Dunbarton** he took shipping.

Queen MARGARET, after she had remained a year in England, understanding by letters that the governor had taken the seas, and was on his way towards France, honourably dismissed by her brother, came to Scotland. At **Berwick** she was received by her husband the earl of **Angus**; but he was not accepted with the favours he was wont; for that plague of too much love, jealousy, had infected her, having gotten some inkling that he delighted in the pleasures of a free bed, and, during the time of her abode in England, had entertained a mistress in **Douglas-dale**, an injury beyond degree of reconciliation, after which she began to disdain him, and seek how she might be divorced from him. Though, whilst the king was kept in the castle of **Edinburgh**, all access unto him was refused her, when he was transported to the castle of **Craigmillar**, out of a suspicion and rumour that the plague had infected **Edinburgh**, by the courtesy of the lord **ERSKINE**, she had liberty to visit him; but her frequent haunting him out of too much motherly kindness, breeding a suspicion in his guardians, that, as had once before been practised by a queen in Scotland, she had an intention to have stolen him away, and send him to his uncle, restrained her longer access unto him, and procured his return back again to the castle of **Edinburgh**.

Sir ANTHONY DARCEY having, by his vigilance, pains, and courage, given many proofs of his worth, in defence of the borders, and administration of justice in those shires he governed; the other governors, often disagreeing

disagreeing amongst themselves, either out of love of rest, and to be vacant from business, or out of malice to procure him greater hatred, declare him absolute deputy: and they gave their promises to second him in way of justice. And here he found the difference between extreams and mediocrities. Many disdained a stranger should be in that place, so many brave men of their nation being neglected. A quarrel at that time, either true and real, or, as others have recorded, altogether forged and contrived to draw the deputy into a danger, arising between the curators of the laird of Langton, and one of his uncles, who by the power and means of Sir DAVID HUME of Wedderburn, whose sister was his wife, had thrust out and ejected the young heir and them of their own castle of Langton, and kept it by force: The deputy, accompanied with certain lords of the borders, and some French men his own domestics, came to the town of Duns, to hold a justice-court concerning this riot. The HUMES, who thought nothing juster than revenge, nor nobler than the effects of anger, having sworn a requital of their chief's wrong, and to pay the governor home, when occasion should be offered, by the council and forwardness of Sir DAVID HUME, lay an ambush, and ly in wait for the deputy. The plot not failing, they invade him at such a disadvantage, that some of his servants being killed, he was constrained to seek an escape by the swiftness of his horse; who, in the chase either falling or sinking in a marsh, left his master to the cruelty of his pursuers, who struck off his head; and, to feed their eyes with the spectacle of their rage, set it; to the disgrace of the French, on the battlements of the castle of Hume. This end had Sir ANTHONY DARCEY, who deserved so well both of France and Scotland, having been courteous, valiant and noble in all his actions, and a great administrator of justice, who spared no travel, and freely adventured upon any dangers to suppress malefactors, and defend the weak and innocent.

The governors, that greater mischief should not follow the boldness of these men, made choice of the earl of Arran to resist their outrage, and declare him ward-en of the marches and supream. Which election dis-

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pleased the earl of Angus. The earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus his interest, immediately committed Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS his brother to the castle of Edinburgh, and MARK KERR of Cessford in Garvet castle, out of a suspicion, that they were accessory to the slaughter of Sir ANTHONY DARCEY. In a parliament, shortly following, many of the HUMES, and COCKBURNS, fugitives for this slaughter, and for that they had invited the English to their aid, and spoil of the country, are declared rebels. The parliament being dissolved, the earl of Arran, with a sufficient number of soldiers, and some great ordnance, besieged the castles of Hume and Langton, and had them rendered to his mercy.

When the accident of Sir ANTHONY DARCEY was noised at the court of France, king FRANCIS is recorded to have said, " That he never looked for better at the hands of the Scots, and that the duke of Albany should have deputed men of their own nation to have governed them, and not a stranger, being a people delighting in misgovernment, ever well pleased at the falls and tragical ends of their rulers, and joying to see any hard hap happen to them they deem happy."

The bishop of Dunkeld, who had accompanied the governor to France, used such diligence at that court, that he was employed to be the first messenger to the country of the great promises and many ceremonies of the French, at the confirmation of the league, with their protestations, for the preserving and maintaining the liberties of the kingdom of Scotland against all who would essay to impair them. Not long after arrived the earl of Lenox and an herald, with letters from king FRANCIS and the governor, amplifying and putting a larger gloss on the same. But when, by other letters, the queen and nobles had received certain intelligence that king FRANCIS and the king of England had composed their quarrels, entered in a new band of amity, a defensive league being passed between them, Tournay rendered to the French, promises upon either side solemnly made for a match to be between the Dauphine of France, eldest son to king FRANCIS, and the eldest daughter of HENRY king of England, when age should enable

enable them for marriage; and that in the large treaty of peace, not one word was set down for the quietness and help of those who for the quarrel of France had lost their king, and endangered their whole kingdom; no care being taken of their welfare and prosperity; they stormed not a little, and thought their lives and travels ill employed. Then, with as great haste as such a matter required, they dispatched letters back again to the governor, blotted with complaints and expostulations. The year following, to excuse his oversight, the French king sent a reason, why he had not made mention of the Scottish nation in his league with England, which was, that "He had studied to give satisfaction and contentment to some of the Scottish nobility, obliquely touching the duke of Albany, whose minds he knew to be altogether averse from any peace or truce with the English nation; whose undaunted spirits, and great courage were only bent to revenge the deaths of their king, kinsmen and compatriots." This evasion not giving satisfaction to the best advised of the council, the French king interposed his endeavours with king HENRY to have a cessation of arms, for as short a time as he could devise. Whereupon CLARENCEUX and one LA FIOT, coming to Scotland, the one from the king of England, the other from the French king, a truce was concluded between the two kingdoms for one year and a whole day. The reason of this truce was thought mostly to be, for that the kings of England, and France, the next summer, all impediments being removed, were to have an interview, and with all princely courtesies, receive and entertain each other.

The kingdom in sundry quarters began to be sensible of the absence of the governor, factions increasing, and deadly feuds daily arising, the commons suffering continual outrages, and the nobility and gentry deciding their rights and quarrels by their swords. The earl of Rothes and the lord LINDSAY contending which should be sheriff of Fife, with tumultuary arms on the high street of Edinburgh invade each other, and hardly by the deputies were restrained, till the one was committed to the castle of Dunbar, and the other to the castle of Dunbarton. ROBERT BLACKADER prior of Cold-

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ingham, with six of his domestic servants, is killed by the laird of Wedderburn. The king, out of a suspicion that the plague was in Edinburgh, being transported to the castle of Dalkeith by convoy of the earl of Arran, who was then provost of the town: it being the season when the townsmen make election of their magistrates for the year following; when the earl was returned, and sought to enter the town, he found the gates shut upon him by the citizens, who alleged he came to invade their liberties in the free choice of their magistrates, having an intention to continue himself in his place, and make choice of the other according to his own pleasure. The tumult continueth the most part of the night, and the next morning early the people dividing into factions, and skirmishing in the streets, a deacon of the crafts is killed by the faction of the HAMILTONS, which alienated the minds of the townsmen altogether from the earl of Arran, and made them incline to the earl of Angus, some of whose friends and followers had rescued some of the citizens, and taken part with others; which made many after conceive this discord was plotted by some noblemen, enemies to the earl of Arran, amongst which the earl of Angus was the chief.

After this tumult, the earls of Angus and Arran fought always to cross each other in their proceedings; the one maintaining the enemies of the other: who had a quarrel against the earl of Arran, the earl of Angus befriended him, as the earl of Arran supported and sided with those who had any discontent against the earl of Angus. A suit falling between the earl of Angus and DAND CAR, laird of Farnehall, about the ballywick of Jedburgh-forest; the lands appertained to the earl, the title and power to sit judge belonged to the lairds of Farnehall. Sir JAMES HAMILTON the natural son of the earl of Arran assisted the laird of Farnehall; and besides those who out of good-will, friendship, kindred, and vassalage, did follow him, he hired forty soldiers, such as were found upon the borders, men living upon spoil and rapine, to be of his party. The laird of Cessford, then warden of the marches, who with his counsel and force sided with the earl of Angus, at the rumour

mour of the approach of Sir JAMES to Jedburgh, encountereth him, and his forty hirelings abandoning him in his greatest danger; CESSFORD killing some of his followers, brought him to make use of his spurs towards the castle of Hume, where after a long chase he got sanctuary. The day following the laird of Farnehaft held a court in the town of Jedburgh, as bailly to the earl of Angus, and the earl himself kept his court three miles distant in Jedburgh forest. In the month of May after, certain noblemen assembled at Edinburgh to accomodate all quarrels, and make an atonement between the DOUGLASSES and HAMILTONS. Many lords of the West here meet, attending the earl of Arran, the earls of Lenox, Eglinton, Gaisils, the lords ROSS, SEMPLE, the bishop of Galloway, abbot of Paisley, *etc.* The provost of the town of Edinburgh ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS of Kilspyndie, uncle or cousin-german to the earl of Angus, yielded up his place to ROBERT LOGAN laird of Restalrig. The lords of the West, by the advice of JAMES BEATON chancellor, in whose house they often assembled, laid a plot to surprize the earl of Angus, then attended but by some few of his friends, and as it were very solitary. They thought him too great and insolent a subject, to whose power never one of theirs alone was equal in all points, and they had many things to challenge him upon, when the governor should return. The earl of Angus, forewarned of their intention, employed the bishop of Dunkeld his uncle to offer them what honourable satisfaction they could require. All that he proposed being rejected by implacable men, and finding the only way to be freed of violence to be violent, and that danger could not be avoided but by a greater danger, with a hundred hardy, resolute men, armed with long spears and pikes, which the citizens, as he traversed the streets, out of windows furnished him, he invested a part of the town, and barricadoed some lanes with carts and other impediments which the time did afford. The adverse party trusting to their number, and the supply of the citizens (who calling to mind the slaughter of their deacon, shew them small favour) disdaining the earl should thus muster on the streets, in great fury invade him. Whilst the bickering

ering continued, and the town is in a tumult, WILLIAM DOUGLAS, brother to the earl of Angus, Sir DAVID HUME of Wedderburn, GEORGE HUME brother to the late lord, with many others by blood and friendship tied together, enter by violence the East gate of the town, the citizens making small resistance, force their passage through the throngs, seek the earl's enemies, find them, and scour the streets of them. The master of MONTGOMERY eldest son to the earl of Eglinton, Sir PATRICK HAMILTON, brother to the earl of Arran, with almost fourscore more, are left dead upon the place. The earl himself findeth an escape and place of retreat through a marsh upon the North side of the town; the chancellor and his retinue took sanctuary in the Dominican friars. The tumult by the slaughter of some and flight of others, being appeased, the earl of Angus, now freed of danger, licenced all who pleased, without further pursuit, peaceably to leave the town of Edinburgh, and return to their own houses. Some days after, the HUMES well banded and backed with many nobles and gentlemen of their lineage, by the earl of Angus's consent, took the lord HUME's and his brother's heads from the place where they had been fixed, and with the funeral rites of those times interred them in the Black-Friars.

The earl of Angus having gained the people's hearts by his magnificence, wisdom, courage and liberality, his faction began to bear greatest sway in the kingdom. For the continuance of which, the king of England dealt most earnestly with the French king to keep the duke of Albany still in France with him. But the French had contrary designs. And when the duke understood the great discords of the nobility of Scotland, persons of faction being advanced to places, dangerous immunities being granted to the commons, France and England beginning to be tired of their peace, and preparing for a new war; to curb the Scottish factions, and keep the nation in quietness within itself, by giving the subjects other work abroad, whilst common danger should break off particular discords; notwithstanding the English ships, which lay in wait to take him, after he had been about five years in France, in November he arriv-
ed,

ed, on the West coasts of Scotland, at a place called Garloch. The governor coming to Edinburgh, set himself to amend the enormities committed in his absence; the magistrates of the town are deposed, because in the late uproar they had been evil seconds to the lords of the West, when they went to surprize the earl of Angus. A parliament is called, to which many noblemen and gentlemen are cited to make appearance in February to be tried, and to answer for offences committed by them in the governor's absence. The appointed time being come, these who appeared not, were indicted, and fled into England. Amongst which, and the chief, were the HUMES and COCKBURNS, men authors of and accessory to the death of Sir ANTHONY DARCEY. The tide now turning, and mens affections changed, the earl of Angus, with his brother Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, by the intercession of the queen, are constrained to seek a pardon: which was obtained for them, but with the condition that they should leave the country, and stay in France one whole year, which they obeyed. Others have recorded that they were surprized in the night, and in French ships conveyed privately away. Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS bishop of Dunkeld, in the absence of his nephew, finding the governor violent in the chace of the faction of the DOUGLASSES, fled privately to the court of England, where he gave informations to king HENRY against him. "He alone had taken to him the custody of the young king, the sequel whereof he much feared; he was an irreconcilable enemy to the whole family of the DOUGLASSES. The principal cause of his coming to Scotland, was to engage the nation in a war against England, that the English should not assist the emperor against the French king, and make his nation slaves to France."

This bishop shortly after died at London, and was buried in the Savoy church: having been a man noble, valiant, learned, and an excellent poet, as his works yet extant testify.

The king of England, upon such informations, sent CLARENCIEUX, king of arms, to Scotland, to require the duke to avoid the country, according to the articles agreed

agreed upon between the French king and him in their last truce.

"It belonged, said CLARENCIEUX, to his master to tender the life, welfare, honour, and fortunes of his nephew, of none of which he could be assured, so long as the duke ruled and stayed in Scotland. It was against all reason, and unbeseeming, that the man should be sole guardian to a king, who was the next heir to the crown: how easily might he be tempted by opportunity to commit the like unnatural cruelty, which some have done in the like case both in England and other parts of Europe? If he loved his nation and prince, as he gave out, he required him to leave the country, which if he yield not unto, but obstinately continued in a resolution to stay, he denounced from his master present war."

He farther complained, "That the earl of Angus, who was king HENRY's brother-in-law, was by him banished and detained in France; that during the banishment of the earl, which had been near a whole year, the duke had importuned his sister the queen with dishonest love."

The governor answered CLARENCIEUX, "That what the kings of France and England agreed upon in their treaties of peace was to him uncertain; but of this he was most certain, that neither the king of England nor France had power to banish him (a foreigner over whom their authority did not reach) his native country; like over like having no jurisdiction.

"As concerning the king of Scotland, who was yet young in years, he revered him as his sovereign lord, and would keep and defend both him and his kingdom according to his conscience, honour and bound duty; that there were ever more men in the world who desired to be kings, than there were kingdoms to be bestowed upon them, of which number he was none, having ever preferred a mean estate justly enjoyed, before a kingdom ill acquired. For the earl of Angus, he had used all courtesies towards him, notwithstanding his evil demerits, not for his own sake, he did confess, but for the queen's sake, whom

“ whom he honoured and respected as the mother of
“ his prince, and towards whom he should always con-
“ tinue his observance. That the king of England
“ needed not misdoubt, he would attempt any thing
“ should derogate from the honour of his sister; that
“ compliments of meer courtesy in France, might be
“ surmised sometimes by English ladies to be sollicita-
“ tions and suits of love.

“ For the war, with which, in case of his stay, he
“ threatened his nation, he would use his best endea-
“ vours to set his compatriots in a posture of defence.”

When this answer was reported to king HENRY, he gathered a great army to invade Scotland, and essay, if, by their own dangers, the Scots people could be moved to abandon and disclaim the duke's authority. Seven great ships came to Inch-Keith, and spoiled all the adjacent coasts: all the Scots and French, which did then inhabit London, and other places of England, were put to their fines, and commanded to go off the country.

In compensation and for equal amends, the French king seized all Englishmens goods in Bourdeaux, imprisoned their persons, and retained the money to be paid for the restitution of Tournay. The earl of Shrewsbury making incursions on the borders, burned the one half of Kelso, and plundered the other.

At this time the emperor CHARLES V. came to England, and stirred up king HENRY to take arms against the French king; and the French had sent ambassadors to Scotland, intreating and conjuring the Scots by their old and new league to arise in arms and invade England. The governor assembled the three estates at Edinburgh, which together condescended to the raising of an army to resist the incursions of the English, and defend the kingdom. To encourage every man for fighting, the wards of those which should fall in this expedition, were freely remitted and discharged by act of parliament, and pensions designed to the widows and daughters of those who died in this service. This empirick balm could the French apply to cure the wounds of the Scottish commonwealth.

The

The earl of Shrewsbury advancing, as was reported, toward the west borders, an army was far gathered, and encamped on Rossin-Moor, which after, according to the orders given, marched to Annandale forwards, and came to the Esk, a river running into the Irish seas near Carlisle. The governor delighted with the seat and standing of the place, caused dig trenches, and, by the advice of certain French gunners, placed some field-pieces, and small ordnance for defence of them, and spread there his pavilions. The citizens of Carlisle, terrified at the sudden approach of so powerful an army, offer many presents for the safety of their town, which he rejected. The English army not minding to invade the Scots so long as they kept themselves on their own ground, and advanced not, the governor endeavoured to make the Scots spoil the country by incursions, but he findeth them slack and unwilling to obey and follow him, most part refusing to go upon English ground, amongst whom ALEXANDER lord GORDON was the chief and first man. The governor finding his command neglected, and some noblemen dissenting from what he most intended, cometh back to the place where they made their stand, and desires a reason of their stay. They told him, " They had determined to defend their
 " own country, not to invade England That it nei-
 " ther consisted with the weal of the commonwealth,
 " nor as matters went at that time, had they sufficient
 " forces to make invasive war: that the governor did
 " not instigate them to invade England for the love he
 " carried to Scotland, but for a benefit to the French,
 " by diverting the war prepared by the English against
 " them. That by invading they might make them-
 " selves a prey to their enemies; they were men and
 " not angels; it was enough for them, whilst their king
 " was under age, to defend his kingdom from the vio-
 " lence of foreigners. Put the case they were in one
 " battle victorious, considering the slaughter and loss of
 " their nobles and gentry in that purchase, they might
 " be overthrown in a second fight; and then to what
 " would the king and country be reduced? their last
 " king might serve them for a pattern, the revenge of
 " whole

“ whose death should be delayed till the king himself
“ were of years to undertake it.”

The governor brought to an exigent, said, “ They
“ should have proposed these difficulties before they
“ took arms, and on the place of battle. Temerity
“ misbecame noblemen in any action, but especially in
“ matters of war, in which a man cannot err twice.
“ At the convention of the three estates, when war was
“ in deliberation, they should have inquired for the
“ causes of it; he was not to bring them upon the dan-
“ ger of a war without their own consent. The Eng-
“ lish had made many incursions upon their country,
“ burning and ravaging: they who stand only upon de-
“ fence, stand upon no defence; a better defence of
“ their own country could not be found than by invad-
“ ing the country of their enemies. They should not
“ be dejected for that accident at Flowden, since it was
“ not the fault of the soldier, but the treason of their
“ chamberlain, who had suffered for it. That the glo-
“ ry of the nation should raise their courages, and in-
“ flame their bosoms with a desire of revenge: the king’s
“ honour, and their piety towards the ghosts of their
“ compatriots, craved no less from them. That, if
“ they would not invade England, at least, for their
“ reputation and fame with the world, they would
“ pitch there a short time their tents, and try if the
“ English would hazard to assail them. That it would
“ be an everlasting branding their honour, if ti-
“ morously in a suddenness they show their backs to
“ their enemies, and dared them not in the face by
“ some days stay.”

The queen though absent, had thus persuaded the
noblemen; and having understood the governor to be
turned now flexible, she dispatched a post to him, re-
questing he would be pleased with a truce for some
months, and that he would commune with the warden
of the English marches, whom she should move to come
to his tent and treat with him. The governor finding
that he stood not well assured of some of his army, and
knowing what a cumbersome task it was to withstand
the violence of their desires, determined to follow their
own current, and seemed well pleased to hearken to their
opinion.

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opinion. Hereupon the lord DACRES, warden of the West marches, came unto the governor's camp the eleventh of September, and, as some have recorded, the queen also, where a cessation of arms was agreed unto for some days, in which time the queen and the governor should send ambassadors to treat for a peace with king HENRY: and shortly after ambassadors were directed to the court of England, but returned without any good done, king HENRY demanding extraordinary and harmful conditions to the realm of Scotland.

The year 1522. ANDREW FORMAN, arch-bishop of St. Andrews, died, and JAMES BEATON arch-bishop of Glasgow and chancellor of the kingdom came in his place of St. Andrews. The arch-bishopric of Glasgow was conferred upon GAVIN DUNBAR, whom the king after advanced to be chancellor of the kingdom.

The governor resenting highly the slighting of the ambassadors by the king of England, but more the contempt and scorn of the Scottish nobility in refusing to follow him, in October by the West-seas passed over to France, promising, that if a peace in this mean time were not concluded with England, he would the next summer bring such warlike brigades of French and Germans, that he should not stand much in need of his own country-men, who had continued so refractory and backward to his designs. He demanded from king FRANCIS five thousand German horsemen, and ten thousand foot to be transported to Scotland; which with the Scots who would accompany him, he thought sufficient to continue a war with England. The French could not spare so many men, having wars both with the emperor and the English, but they gave him three thousand pikes, and one thousand launces. The governor intending to return to Scotland, receiving intelligence that the ports towards the coasts of France were watched by the English to intrap him in his passage, bestowed his ships so covertly here and there in small companies to avoid all suspicion of any purpose he had to stir that year, as that thereupon the English fleet under the conduct of Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WIL-

LIAMS,

LIAMS, which had attended and waited his coming forth, until the midst of August, brake up, and bestowed themselves in convenient ports against the next spring. The duke then watching the opportunity, and readily gathering together his dispersed ships, to the number of some fifty sail, embarked his men at Brest in Bretagne, the one and twenty of September, and landed at Kircudbright, or the isle of Arran, in the West of Scotland. In his company was RICHARD DE LA POOL who had been banished England, and to his power faithfully assisted the governor. He arrived the same time that Jedburgh was burnt by the English; for THOMAS earl of Surrey, high admiral of England, the marquess of Dorset and his brother, with a competent power entering Scotland, had burnt many towns, and overthrown castles and piles.

At his coming, the duke assembled the lords at Edinburgh, where they agreed that an army should forthwith be gathered, and the 28th of October was appointed for their meeting at Douglas-dale. At the day prefixed, the army marched towards Coldstream upon the Tweed. Out of this army the governor having selected a number of the hardiest soldiers of Scots and French, and convoying some artillery over the water, under the command of DAND CAR of Farnehaft, on the last of October they besieged the castle of Wark, which was defended by EDWARD LILLY or LILE. The assailants upon the utmost ward continuing their battery, entered by main force the second ward; but being there repulsed and beaten back, a great tempest arising, and fearing the swelling of the river of Tweed might cut them off from their army on the other side, they turned back and repassed the water: the report of the earl of Surrey's forces coming to rescue the castle, and lying at Anwick, had also perplexed them not a little. The earl of Surrey, at his approach, finding the enemy retired to the other side of the river, the castle safe, and having no commission to pass the English marches, or to invade Scotland, made no further pursuit. In the mean time the queen, who had ever sought to make firm friendship with her brother, and break the amity of France, sent to him to yield to a cessation of war, hoping

hoping in that time to work some agreement between the two nations. Whereunto the king consenting, the governor finding the Scottish lords averse to his intentions, that he was this time served as he had been before, they refusing still to enter upon England, and that striving would but the more chafe them, also condescended. Thus a truce was promised, and faithful peace observed till the last of November, being the feast of St. Andrew: the winter passed without any invasion of the English on Scotland, or the Scots on England.

During the time of this truce, many serious consultations were amongst the lords of Scotland, whether it were more fit to continue this war, or give it over. Many of them held it unreasonable that for the only pleasure of the French king, the realm of Scotland should suffer any more damage by the continuing of so needless a war: and finding that the duke of Albany was always set to perform what the French desired, not what was expedient for the Scottish nation, nor what was in their power to accomplish; they therefore wished that their young king, now having attained some years of discretion, and passing the age of a child, might bear some sway in the government of the realm. Some argued, "That a king sooner than the sons of noblemen went out of the bondage of tutelage, and enjoyed greater immunities, his age often being reckoned from the time of his conception. That the administration and charge of the kingdom should early be given him, that he might with his years grow in the art of governing; since we find the same to be usual in the perfection of other arts and sciences." Others entertained other thoughts, "That to a child, who could not by the weakness of his judgment discern right from wrong, the helm of state should not be trusted, and that the peers of the kingdom might be challenged of dotage by their neighbour countries, for giving to a child the sword of justice, which he might thrust in their own entrails one day, or wound therewith the bosom of the commonwealth."

The governor finding the lords divided amongst themselves, and their reasons averse to his intentions, and that not only the people, but the soldiery were weary of

of him, and had bent their affections upon their young king, foolishly preferring the ignorance and simplicity of a child to his prudence, experience, and long practice of state, requested them to give him leave to return to France, and to forgive him any error he had committed, which he protested was of ignorance, not of malice. Having from men distasted with him, without any opposition, obtained what he required, far from any outward shew of inward discontentment, or disquieting himself at the ingratitude of some whom he had advanced to honours, he came to Stirling, where, after some days stay with the king, when he had given him such instructions of state, as he was able to understand, for he was but then in the thirteenth year of his age, with many tokens of love, and demonstrations of sincere affection, he took his leave of him: and his ships attending his passage on the west, with a great retinue of Scots and French, he held his way towards them, and recommended himself to the sea in the spring time, now the third time for France; after which he returned not at all into Scotland.

He was a prince adorned with many virtues, active, courageous, resolute, and knew how to use men as they are.

If he had not been opposed by the queen and nobility, he was likely either to have lost himself and the whole kingdom, or revenged the death of his cousin.

His courteous nature went above his ambition; he could as well lay down his honours, as he had modestly, when they were laid upon him, received them.

Before the rumour of the duke of Albany's taking the seas was spread abroad, the king of England by secret letters had required the earl of Angus, who then an exile staid in France, to come to him: after the receipt of which, with a short leave-taking he left France, where he had stayed almost three years, and cometh to England. King HENRY had brought him to believe, that the duke had determined to extirpate his whole lineage: To prevent which he made him offer of men and ammunition to preserve his own, and by his faction at home, and his assistance, to send the duke over seas; which,

which, if he had longer stayed, the earl was esteemed powerful enough to have accomplished.

The duke of Albany being in France, the queen with the government of the state, assumeth the custody of the person of her son, whom she moved to leave Stirling and come to Edinburgh. The third day after he had made his entry into the town, she lodged with him in the Maiden Castle, and it being seized on, armed with authority, she doubted not to make the country yield her all obedience. That the supreme magistrate of the town should not oppose her designs, he is put from his office, and the lord MAXWELL, a man to her obsequious, is substituted in his place.

To give the fairer lustre to her actions, a parliament is called at Edinburgh, that what she did, might consist with law.

When king HENRY understood the duke had left Scotland, to exclude and bar him all regress, he sent one MAGNUS, a great orator, but greater by the renown of his skill in the laws, with ROGER RATCLIFF, his ambassadors, to try how the Scots, amidst such unnecessary turmoils, would relish a truce and cessation of arms: and these lay the blame of all the disorders and discords between the two nations, upon the duke. The nobles tired with their tedious wars, beginning to espy a haven of rest, cheerfully accept of this embassy, and agree upon a truce for one whole year. To confirm which they condescend that commissioners shall be dispatched instantly, who shall treat not only for a truce, but for a firm and lasting peace between the two nations, and unite the two crowns in bands of amity, as well as they were united in degrees of blood.

The earl of Angus, his enemy abandoning the kingdom, after honourable entertainment of the king of England, many promises to befriend him, and blandishments at his departing, cometh to Scotland; and his return began to change the game of state. The queen's and earl of Arran's faction carried all matters of importance; the earls of Lenox, ARGYLE, and the HUMES had been sequestered from public employments: the first faction by his presence find their power diminished; the other by his counterpoise and assistance have new hopes

hopes of arising; both factions disliked that Angus should arise to the first place, and suspected he would not be content with the second; they loved to have him an equal, not supreme.

Private jars smothered and interests delayed, matters concerning England requiring a hasty and present dispatch, GILBERT earl of Cassils, ROBERT COCKBURN bishop of Dunkeld, ALEXANDER MILL abbot of Cambuskenneth, are sent commissioners to the court of England. At Greenwich they are honourably and kindly received by king HENRY, whose countenance promised them a refusal of no reasonable thing they would require. The bishop had a speech, the sum of which was,

“ That, dissention and hatred taken away between
“ the two nations, a faithful peace might be agreed un-
“ to and confirmed, their discords turned into union,
“ their rancour into love; which to bring to pass and
“ make durable, the only apparent and probable means,
“ were to bestow the lady MARY, the king’s daughter,
“ upon JAMES the young king of Scotland.”

The English with great joy applauded what was said: and king HENRY appointed certain commissioners to treat about that purpose in private. These when they had met to advance the union of the kingdoms, desired these conditions.

First, “ That the Scottish nation giving over, and fairly forsaking the league they had with France, should
“ enter into a new league with them, upon the same
“ conditions and terms which were contained in their
“ league with France.

Next, “ That the young king of Scotland, till by age
“ he was able for marriage, should be brought up at the
“ court of England.”

When the ambassadors of Scotland had answered,
“ That these conditions were above their commission, to
“ which they could not well answer,” and desired a time to acquaint the council of Scotland with them; it was condescended unto. Thus two of them remaining at London, the earl of Cassils returned to Scotland to bring back an answer.

When

When the day, in which the parliament should have been held, was come, the queen and they who were of her faction, as the earls of Arran, Murray, and Eglington, fearing the earl of Angus might turn the wavering people's affection, and move them to some revolt, which might hinder their determinations, or terrify the commissioners by the frequent convention of his friends and followers, constraining their voices, and restraining their freedom of speech; or that they had a plot to surprize some of the contrary faction, and by authority of parliament commit them in that place, caused a proclamation to be made, "That none of the three estates should sit or assemble themselves in the town of Edinburgh, but that they should keep their meeting in the castle, and there give their presence." The earls of Angus, Lennox, Argyle, arch-bishop of St. Andrews, bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblain, with their adherents, and others, who joined with them rather out of fear than good-will, refuse to enter the castle, and require, "That the parliament be kept in the accustomed place, and that the king may in triumph be shewn to his own people, and conveyed along the high-street." All which being denied them; giving out, "That justice was violated, the king kept against his will as a prisoner, and the government and custody of his person seized on without consent of the three estates;" they surround the castle with two thousand men in arms, and stop all furniture of food and victuals, which should have been afforded by the town. In this distress they in the castle turn the great ordinance against the town, and threaten the innocent citizens with the overthrow of their buildings. Some powder and time being spent in terrifying the people, at last, churchmen interposing themselves, and interceding, with and persuading the parties, an accommodation and atonement is wrought, their fury quenched, all rancour suppressed, and injuries forgotten, the king in magnificence and pomp is conveyed from the castle to his palace at Holy-rood-house, and the estates assemble in the wonted place of the town of Edinburgh.

In this parliament the authority of the governor is abrogated, by which means they saved him a labour from

from returning into Scotland again: "Eight lords were chosen to have the custody of the king's person, every one his months successively, and the whole to stand for the government of the state; yet with this limitation, that the king by their counsel should not determine, nor ordain any thing in great affairs, to which the queen, as princess and dowager, gave not her free consent and approbation."

The lords were, the arch-bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, the earls of Angus, Arran, Lenox, and Argyle.

Time urging resolution, the lords of parliament directed the earl of Cassils again to the court of England to declare their resolution concerning the marriage of the king, and the establishing a peace between the kingdoms.

The news of the overthrow of the French army, and the taking of their king at Pavia, by the Imperialists, being come to the court of England, before the arrival of the earl of Cassils, king HENRY told the Scottish ambassadors in plain terms, "He could not determine any thing concerning the marriage of his daughter, without acquainting the emperor her nearest kinsman, and his confederate, with his proceedings, which could not be done in haste, and so soon as they required, considering the troubles of Italy."

Hereupon the ambassadors, their hopes of this alliance delayed, having obtained a truce between the two nations for the space of three years and three months, faithfully to be kept, returned to their own country.

The state began of new to be tossed by the troublesome factions of the queen and the earl of Angus, the original of which sprang from matters of the church; the abbacy of Holy-rood-house falling vacant by the promotion of GEORGE CREIGHTON abbot to the bishopric of Dunkeld; the earl of Angus, to whom the custody of the king was trusted, either by lot or consent, moved him to confer this abbacy upon his brother Mr. WILLIAM, prior of Coldingham, without acquainting the queen with the gift, or seeking the consent of the other rulers: at this the queen turned so displeased, that abandoning the king to the pleasure of the earl of

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Angus,

Angus, she with her followers retired to Stirling. By this inconsiderate retreat the earl administered all alone, leaning to the greatness of his own power, that some might have thought the queen set her game to make up his. All favours and punishments pass by him, all offices and places of importance are distributed to his favourites; he made ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, his uncle, treasurer, Sir GEORGE, his brother, great chamberlain; the abbacies of Coldingham and Holy-roodhouse were in his brother's hands; neither temporal nor ecclesiastical dignity escaped him; his greatness instantly procureth him envy.

The arch-bishop of St. Andrews, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Murray, who were of the queen's faction, lay a plot to accuse Angus of high treason. They challenge him, "That he kept the king against his will, insolently restrained his liberty, and that contrary to the order established by the estates, which was, that the custody of his person should every four months, by turns, be allotted to the governors of the country in a circle; that he could not dispose of any thing of moment alone; the contrary of all which he had usurped: whereupon they charge him to dismiss the king, and restore him to them, and the other counsellors, equal in government with him, under the pain, he should be reputed a traitor and no loyal subject, for this invassalling his prince to his attendance."

The earl of Angus himself to this answered not, but Sir GEORGE his brother moved the king to give the answer himself: "His mother and those other rulers should not be thus solicitous for him; for with none more cheerfully, willingly and contentedly, could he live and spend his time than with the earl of Angus, neither could he leave the company of one so highly favoured of his uncle, and so well meriting of himself."

For all this answer, he had secretly sent letters to his mother, and those of the adverse party, intreating, "They would remove him from the earl, and not suffer him any longer to remain under his imperious government, and if it could not be otherwise done,
"to

" to accomplish it by main force of arms, if they had any pity, or if any sparks of duty remained unquenched in them towards him, if they dared enterprize ought for a royal, though now thrall'd, suppliant, or obey the command of a king in prison; that the answer, which he sent before unto them and his mother, was by constraint and compulsion drawn from him, and far from his mind."

Upon this advertisement, the queen, and they of her faction, assemble what power they could raise in such a suddenness at Stirling, and with great expedition march'd towards Edinburgh to separate the king from the earl his guardian; who, resolv'd to repel force by force, with the townsmen of Edinburgh, many friends and adherents, and the king, though against his will, march'd out of Edinburgh, to encounter and fight these rebels. When the leaders of the queen's forces understood the king in person was in the adverse army, either dazled with the splendor of the presence of a king, or fearing, if they joined in battle, the person of their prince might be endangered, or that they found themselves not strong enough in number and arms for a conflict, they retired back again to Stirling, where they disbanded, and returned every man to his own dwelling-place: the queen, with the earl of Murray, went to Murray-land, the earls of Arran and Argyle to the West, the arch-bishop of St. Andrews to Dunfermline.

This faction being dissipated, the earl of Angus remained more stable, and assured of his guardianship, and now he findeth no competitor.

The want of the great seal being a hinderance to many of his projects, and he disdain'd to be a suitor to his enemy; for dispatch of public affairs, caus'd the king send a letter for it, and the arch-bishop with all respect sent it immediately to the earl: with whom to be equal, he took himself to new meditations.

The queen many ways provok'd by her husband the earl of Angus, and lastly by detaining her son against his will, and contrary to the public course agreed upon, the arch-bishop perswaded her, " To intend a process of divorcement against him, and dissolve her marriage; this might produce some great effect, at least it could

"not but diminish the earl's reputation among the people." The queen and the earl had many times in private between themselves agreed upon a separation, disliking each others conditions; for it was fatal to her, as to her brother king HENRY, to delight in change of wedlock, and be jealous of her matches. The earl is therefore cited before the arch-bishop of St. Andrews to hear the sentence pronounced according to the laws of the church in those times. At the day appointed he appeareth. The queen alleged, "He had been betrothed, given his faith and promise of marriage to a noble woman of the kingdom, a daughter of Traquair, before the marrying of her, and so by reason of that pre-contract he could not be her lawful husband." The earl confesseth: the arch-bishop pronounceth the sentence of divorcement, but with this reservation and restraint, "That the child come of the queen and the earl the time of their marriage, by the ignorance of the mother, the queen, should not suffer any loss, damage or disadvantage."

The king of England repented highly this divorcement, and endeavoured by his letters to hinder it; for he thought some things tolerable in men, which were incompetent and shameful in women, and after never carried such respect to his sister as he had done before. Of these she made little reckoning, for, after the sentence given, she married HENRY STUART, son to the lord EVANDALE, whom king JAMES after, to do honour to his mother, promoted to be lord METHWEN, and general of his artillery.

Whilst the king remained a shadow to the earl's government, amidst so many distractions, discords and jars of the grandees, the court turned solitary and unfrequented by any noblemen, save these of the DOUGLASSES own faction, amongst which, the earl of Lennox shewed himself most indifferent. For he, for his own ends, attending the court, in a short time so framed himself to the king's humour, that he delighted alone in his conversation, and often hid none of his inward thoughts and secret intentions from him. Among others he many times importuned him, "To give him a sound advice, how he might be delivered from the
" earl

“ earl of Angus, of whose bondage he had been long
“ weary, whose rule over him was turned now into ty-
“ ranny, his ambition having mounted to that height,
“ that he was not contented to command the kingdom,
“ but to thrall and keep under his sovereign lord the king
“ himself, that the effects of his governing were the dis-
“ persing of his nobles, and banishing of his mother from
“ him.”

The earl of Lenox, who by his familiarity with the king was become suspected by Angus, and had an intention to tumble out a man hated of his prince, establish himself in his place; and rule the young king alone, aggravating his and the country's miseries, told him, after much intreaty, “ The laird of Buccleugh was the
“ only person to be employed in such a service; a man
“ of unlimited desires, displeased, strong in power,
“ mightily hated, and who had inveterate hatred a-
“ gainst the earl of Angus, and wanted nothing but op-
“ portunity to execute his rancour: if this conceived
“ exploit had not a desired success, then he himself
“ would by main force either win his prince, or lose
“ his life in the enterprize.” The laird of Buccleugh, secretly advertised of the king's intention, giveth way to much oppression and many insolencies on the borders, the redress of which required the presence of the prince. Complaints are given against them, and the king, to do justice, accompanied with the earls of Angus, Lenox, lords HUME, FLEMING and ERSKINE, with CESFORD, FARNEHAST, and others, cometh to Jedburgh. But when they had stayed there some days, small redress was of wrongs, no justice executed, the chief men of the borders not producing the delinquents of their names, to answer according to law, as was the ancient custom. Thus as they came they were returning, when at Melrofs, as they hovered at the passage of a bridge over the Tweed, certain companies of men in arms appeared on the descents of Halidon hill: which being come within distance of discerning, were known to be commanded by the laird of Buccleugh, and numbered a thousand, all borderers and broken men. The earl of Angus, not a little moved at so sudden an apparition, by an herald craveth to understand their intentions,

and how in such a hostile manner they dared come so near the king's person, withal charging them under pain of high treason to retire. The laird of Buccleugh's answer was, he came to do the king service, invite him to his house, and show him what forces he was able to raise upon the borders, when necessity should require his service and assistance. That he would not obey a charge contrary to the king's mind, of which he was conscious, and herewith he marched forwards. Presently the earl alighting on foot, leaving the earl of Lenox, lords **ERSKINE**, and **MAXWELL**, Sir **GEORGE DOUGLAS**, and **NINIAN CRIGHTON** with the king, as spectators of the game, with the lord **FLEMING**, and others his friends, marshalled his men for the charge, which was given with a great shout and clamour of these borderers. The lord **HUME**, lairds of **FARNEAST** and **CESFORD**, had taken their leave of the king, who gladly dismissed them; but upon advertisement of the sudden fray, being not far off, they return in haste with an hundred lances, in good time for the earl of Angus, and falling upon one of the wings of Buccleugh's troops, force them to yield ground, and some to turn their backs, upon which suddenly followeth the chase, **CESFORD** and **FARNEAST** eagerly pursuing. Here, at the descent of a little hill, by the blow of a lance, which a domestic of Buccleugh's threw from his arm, the laird of Cesford is slain, and by his death the chase left off to be followed, and a long deadly feud between the **SCOTS** and **CARS** was begun, fourscore borderers were killed, in this bickering, assisting Buccleugh himself was wounded with many of his friends; the earl of Angus lost not a few, besides the laird of Cesford.

The earl of Angus, after this road of Melrofs, perceiving his enemies to increase, and the affections of some of the nobility turned from him, composing the old difference between him and the earl of Arran, entered into conditions of a strict friendship with him, and was content he should be his partner and fellow-governor in distribution of casualties and ruling the country. When the king had considered how twice his intentions had been broken, and unhapily without success, he began to essay the third by the earl of Lenox, whom challenging
of

of his promise he desired to gather an army, and joining his forces with the queen's to restore him to his liberty. The earl of Lenox, before suspected, after the league and friendship of the earl of Angus with the earl of Arran, became a declared enemy to Angus, withdrew himself from court; and some few months being past, at Stirling he maketh a declaration to all the lieges, of his intentions, inviting them to assist and side with his cause. One thousand men came from the Highlands to him, the earl of Cassils and master of Kilmaurs came from the West with two thousand, the queen and archbishop JAMES BEATON direct many of their vassals from Fife to him: thus with three strong brigades he marcheth towards Linlithgow.

The earl of Angus, understanding these preparations to be against him, imploreth the assistance of his best friends to withstand them, especially the CARS and HUMES, to whose valour he had lately been so far obliged. He sendeth letters to the earl of Arran, and the gentlemen of the name of HAMILTON; "Regreting the estate of the commonwealth, and requiring their speedy aid. That, in so perilous a time, setting aside all particular respects and quarrels, they would have a care of the common good of the country. If the earl of Lenox should carry the king from him, and remain victor of the field, he would not stay there, his next mark would be the HAMILTONS, whom he was in the way to put from all title to the crown, the report going already that the king would entail it to him out of his own favour, and had designed him heir to the earl of Arran, he having no children of his own. That the king had a magnetical affection towards him, which, if fortune favoured him with a victory, would increase, now meriting, which before was but meer favour: the custody of a young king was not for a man of so short experience." The HAMILTONS finding that man their suppliant, who lately was their competitor, delighting to live in a troubled state, and be co-partners of the government and managing the affairs of the kingdom, which was promised them in their new bond of friendship, laying aside all former discontent and grudge, accept the quarrel, and assemble

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their forces at Linlithgow. To this town the earl of Lenox was advancing; and, he being the sister's son of the earl of Arran, by gentlemen well affected towards him and of his kindred, they intreat him; "To turn back, and to try the hazard of a battle for a conquest: he could not long enjoy the government of a young prince, whom a little more time would make governor of himself, and who, perhaps, would reward his service with disgrace; it being ordinarily seen that great obligations to princes procure rather their hatred than love, whilst it is more easy to pay men by contempt than benefits: that if he came forwards, no interest of blood would save him from their just and lawful stopping his passage and enterprize." The earl of Lenox answered, "It was no time then in the eye of the world to abandon so just a quarrel; that shame wounded deeper than death, which he would rather embrace than not see his prince at Edinburgh." And finding the bridge over the Avon possessed by the enemy, passed his companies over the river near the ancient monastery Manuel; the master of Kilmaurs guideth the vanguard, consisting of Westland men; the earl of Castles and himself the main battle, many of which were Highland men, being of all, as some write, ten thousand. The earl of Angus having essayed in vain to bring the king to the field with the power of Edinburgh, leaving that charge to his brother Sir GEORGE and ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS provost of the town, accompanied with the HUMES and CARS, being of all two thousand, maketh a speedy march towards Linlithgow. But the earl of Arran, spurred by the ambition and youthful heat of his son Sir JAMES HAMILTON, had begun the fight before he could appear. For a long time it is valiantly fought, victory inclining to neither side, till a great clamour arose, seconded by the appearance of fresh troops of enemies, the DOUGLASSES and their friends: at which alarm many of the Highland and Westland men turned their backs; the rest by the advantage of the place sustain the fight.

The king, after much loitering and many delays, having heard the armies were near joining, and much solicitation of Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, issueth out of
Edinburgh

Edinburgh at a slow march. But when at Corstorphine hills he was awakened with the noise of the great ordnance, he urged his followers to make all haste to come to the fight. It was reported Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS drove his horse in a great rage, and gave him injurious words, which he never after forgot. Being half way he is advertised that the earl of Lenox's Highland men were fled, and by all appearance the earl of Arran was master of the field. These news perplexed him not a little, but making the best of that worst, he dispatched all his domestic servants, with ANDREW WOOD of Largo, to save so many as they could in the chase, especially the earl of Lenox, whose life he now tendereth as his crown. But this earl, after he had been taken by the laird of Pardowy, in cold blood was unnaturally slain by Sir JAMES HAMILTON, who either killed or wounded on the face all that came under the dint of his sword in the rout.

They found the earl of Arran mourning over his corps, over which he had spread his cloak; the laird of Houstoun lay dead by him; the master of Kilmaurs, fore wounded at their coming, maintained the fight, and was by them with difficulty saved, with so many others as either the king's authority or their power could rescue. This conflict happened in September.

After the victorious earls had passed their wounded soldiers, and refreshed themselves in Linlithgow, they accompany the king to Stirling, and immediately march through Fife in quest of those who had been the cause of taking arms against them, of which number the queen was; but the arch-bishop of St. Andrews was the most eminent; who, as before he had seconded Arran to surprize Angus, so now he had stirred up Lenox to the overthrow of them both. Because the arch-bishop was not to be found (for he, as some record, was turned a true pastor, and in shepherd's weeds kept sheep on some hill) they spoiled the abbacy of Dunfermline, and castle of St. Andrews, defacing all the ornaments, and carrying away the moveables and stuff in them: the queen with her husband HENRY STUART, and JAMES his brother, betook them to the castle of Edinburgh, which the lords at their return besieged. The mother

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hearing her son was amongst the besiegers in person, obtaining favour for her husband and his brother, caused the gates to be cast open. But for their greater safety, such who loved them, advised the king to commit them to that place during his pleasure.

Now the earls of Angus and Arran summoned all who had born arms against the king to appear in judgment, and answer according to the law as traitors. Some compounded for sums of money, others became dependers of the houses of Angus and Arran: GILBERT earl of Cassils being summoned and compearing, HUGH KENNEDY his kinsman answered the indictment, that he came not against the king, but to assist the king, for proof of which he offered to produce the king's own letter. Though the earl of Cassils escaped the danger of the law, he did not the fury of the revenge, which was taken about some disparaging words; for as he was returning home, he was surprized in the way and killed: some write, by the sheriff of Air, but by the direction of Sir JAMES HAMILTON.

About this time the arch-bishop of St. Andrews, and other churchmen, in revenge of the spoiling of his houses, and pursuing himself, for questions of religion, burn the earl of Arran's brother's son Mr. PATRICK HAMILTON, and banish Mr. PATRICK's brother JAMES Sheriff of Linlithgow.

Not long after, men's wrath by time diminishing, and their blood growing colder, the arch-bishop having bestowed on the earl of Angus, Sir GEORGE his brother, and other their friends, some church benefices and many leases of tithes, was reconciled unto them, and with appearance of great friendship they mutually entertained and feasted each others at Christmas in the city of St. Andrews. But small confidence could be long among reconciled enemies.

Now went every thing as the earl of Angus could have wished, he was not only entire and familiar with the king's person, but with his office; some of his enemies were dead, others overthrown in open field, with the rest he was reconciled. No faction for power or riches was equal to his; nor remained there any castle or fortress not seized on by him, and garrisoned with his

his friends and followers, except the castle of Stirling, a part of the queen's dowry, which being desolate by her miseries, and only haunted by some of her poorest and meanest servants, was neglected by the earl, which in him was a great error, the fitness of the place for a revolution and change of court considered. Many days the earl had not seen his own dwelling places, nor thought upon his private affairs, being carried away by the forms of court: now he thinketh he may securely pass to Lothian, whilst at Falkland the king shall be safely entertained by his brother Sir GEORGE, ARCHIBALD his uncle, and JAMES of the Parkhead, captain of the guards. Having earnestly intreated their attendance on the king, he crosseth the Forth, with a resolution soon to return. His departing was not so concealed, but the arch-bishop of St. Andrews had knowledge of it, and he inviteth Sir GEORGE, "to see him in the city of St. Andrews, to receive the leases of the tithes promised, all now perfected, valid, and according to law sufficient." Whilst Sir GEORGE is here detained, ARCHIBALD the treasurer, by other letters, for matters of love, is inticed to Dundee; but nothing could make the captain of the guards leave his charge. The king, amidst his solitary walks in his park of Falkland, considering of what a tedious train he was relieved, and how suddenly occasion might turn her bald scalp, if presently he took not hold of her, resolveth to accomplish by stratagem, what the factions of his nobles could not perform by force. It is delightful to understand every particular circumstance in the progress of the actions of princes. Upon this resolution he directeth the forester of the park "To give advertisement to such gentlemen about, who kept hounds, the next morning to attend him, for he would early have his game." He suppeth sooner than his custom was, entertaining the captain of the guards with more than usual ceremonies and representations of the next morning's sport, withal inviting him to go to his rest, the night being short about the summer solstice. The waiters all shifted, and the court hushed, shutting his chamber door, in the apparel of one of his grooms, unperceived he passed the guard to the stable; where,
with

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with two who attended him with spare horses, he posted to Stirling, where, by the queen's intelligence, he was expected in the castle.

When the certainty of this escape was noised abroad, many noblemen repair to Stirling, some by letters sent unto them, others at the rumour of his evasion, that in a little time he found himself safe and far from any danger again to be surprised, the earls of Argyle, Athole, Glencairn, Monteith, and Huntley; the lords GRAHAM, DRUMMOND, LIVINGSTON, SINCLAIR, LINDSAY, EVANDALE, RUTHVEN, MAXWELL, SEMPLE, the earls of Eglinton, and Rothes, and JAMES BEATON arch-bishop of St. Andrews, the deviser of his escape. The earl of Angus full of mis-giving thoughts, with many of his friends, was also on his way to Stirling; but proclamations being made against him, "Discharging him from all his offices and public functions, and being by an herald forbidden with his friends and followers to come near the court by some miles, under pain of treason;" either moved by inward terrors, or love of the peace of his country, turned back to Linlithgow, where two days he attended news of the king's pleasure, which at last was declared, "That neither he, nor none of his, should presume by some miles to approach his residence." The more particular favours were, "That the earl should confine himself beyond the river of Spey in the North, whilst his brother Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS should render himself prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, and there remain during the king's pleasure." When the DOUGLASSES had refused these offers, they are cited to answer according to law, in a parliament to be holden in September at Edinburgh.

Before the day of appearing, the earl of Angus, accompanied with an able train of his friends and followers, essayeth to enter the town of Edinburgh, and there attend the coming of the king; but by the lord MAXWELL, and the lord of Lochinvar, who in the king's name had invested the town, he is kept out; and the king, with an unexpected suddenness, with two thousand men coming from Stirling, he removed. The earl not appearing at the appointed day, is, by decree of parliament,

parliament, attainted and forfeited, with his brother Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS his uncle, ALEXANDER DRUMMOND of Carnock, and others.

The points of which they were to be accused, were, "The assembling of the king's lieges, with intention to have assailed his person; the detaining of the king against his will and pleasure, and contrary to the articles agreed upon, the space of two years and more; all which time the king was in fear and danger of his life." At this parliament, some write, the king made a solemn oath, never to give a remission to any of the DOUGLASSES there forfeited, as the lords did, never to intercede nor request for any of them: and in disgrace of the earl of Angus, HENRY STUART who had married the queen his wife, was created lord METHWEN.

The DOUGLASSES having all favours denied them, being openly declared enemies to the king and country, commit all hostility, the last refuge of desperate men, on their enemies bounds: Caustland and Cranstoun are burnt; they ravage even to the gates of Edinburgh, the harmless people suffering for the faults of the great; under the shadow of their followers, all robberies and oppressions broke forth, and by whomsoever committed, are laid to their charge. The king will not hear of them in any other terms than as oppressors and common robbers. In their defence they fortify their castle of Tantallon with the readiest provision taken from the nearest adjacent bounds. In October the king raiseth a great company of soldiers; with great ordnance, and other engines of war brought from the castle of Dunbar, Tantallon is besieged, but proveth impregnable; and DAVID FALCQNER the general of the ordnance at their removing is slain. A commission is sent to the earl of Bothwel, as the king's lieutenant, to invade with fire and sword in all places the DOUGLASSES, which he, either out of humane compassion, or that he knew wise statesmen should extenuate the faults of others rather than aggravate them, refused to accept: But the earl of Argyle and lord HUME, accepting that charge, prosecute them where they might be apprehended, till
after

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after much misery and night-wandering at home, they were constrained with ALEXANDER DRUMMOND of Carnock, who had been partaker of their misfortunes, by his consanguinity with the earl's mother, who was daughter to the lord DRUMMOND, to fly into England, where they were charitably received, and honourably entertained by king HENRY VIII.

Now are the offices and lands of the DOUGLASSES disposed upon; the arch-bishop of Glasgow, GAVIN DUNBAR, is made chancellor; ROBERT BARTON, who was in special favour with the king, treasurer, great custom-general of the artillery and mines, and other their charges are given unto others.

The king of England intending a war against the emperor CHARLES V. sendeth ambassadors to Scotland for a certain time to treat a peace, and, if it were possible, to reconcile the DOUGLASSES with the king. Five years truce was resolved upon; but for the DOUGLASSES, the king would hearken to no offers; only ALEXANDER DRUMMOND, by the intercession of ROBERT BARTON, and the ambassadors, had liberty to return home. When the earl of Northumberland and the earl of Murray, who had full power to conclude a truce, had met the other commissioners upon the borders, the factious great men and rank riders there, put all in such a confusion by urging difficulties, that they parted without agreeing unto any articles or certain conclusions: which the king took in so ill a part, that divining from what head this interruption sprung, he committed sundry noblemen to the castle of Edinburgh, till they gave hostages, and secured the borders from invasion or being invaded. In the month of June following, with great power, he visited these bounds, executing justice upon all oppressors, thieves and out-laws. In Ewisdale eight and forty notorious riders are hung on growing trees, the most famous of which was JOHN ARMSTRONG; others he brought with him to Edinburgh for more public execution and example, as WILLIAM COCKBURN of Henderland, and ADAM SCOT of Tushelaw, named king of thieves.

The year 1530. the king instituted the college of justice: before it was ambulatory, removing from place

to

to place by circuits; suits of law were peremptorily decided by baillies, sheriffs, and other judges; when any great and notable cause offered itself, it was judged sovereignly by the king's counsel, which gave free audience to all the subjects. The power and privileges of this college were immediately confirmed by pope CLEMENT VII.

In this court are fifteen judges ordinary, eight of them being spiritual persons, of the which the most ancient is president, and seven temporal men: the chancellor of the realm, when he is present, is above the president. There are also four counsellors extraordinary, removeable at the prince's pleasure.

This institution is after that order of justice which is administered in Paris, first instituted by PHILIP IV. the French king, in the year 1286.

The king about this time storeth his arsenals with all sorts of arms; the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dunbarton, and Blackness, are repaired and furnished with ordnance and ammunition.

Whilst no certain truce is concluded between the realms of England and Scotland, the earl of Angus worketh in this interim so with the king of England, that Sir EDWARD DARCEY is sent to the borders; who, when his solicitation, for restoring the earl, at the Scottish court had taken no effect, yea had been scorned, after he had stayed at Berwick with the garrisoned soldiers, and some selected companies out of Northumberland and Westmorland, maketh a road into Scotland; Coldingham, Dunglas, and adjacent villages, they burn, and ravage the the country towards Duns. Some Scottish ships and vessels were also at this time taken by sea. When a reason was sought of this invasion in a cessation of arms and calm of truce; "They require the DOUGLASSES may be restored to their ancient inheritance, and whatsoever had been withheld from them, and that Cannobie, a poor abbacy, be rendered to the English, as appertaining of old to the crown of England." The earl of Murray, being declared lieutenant, maketh head against them: but the English daily increasing in number, and his companies not being sufficient to make good against so many and large
in-

incurſions, the power of Scotland is divided into four quarters, every one of which for the ſpace of forty days by turns taketh the defence of the country. The Engliſh, finding by this intercourſe of new ſoldiers the war to be prolonged, would have gladly accepted of peace, but they diſdained to ſue for it to the Scots : it was thought expedient, that the French, a friend then to both, ſhould be a mediator to reconcile them : whereupon, after an ambaffador had come from France, commissioners firſt meet at Newcaſtle, and after at London, JAMES COLVIL of Eaſter Weems, ADAM OTTERBURN of Redhall, WILLIAM STUART biſhop of Aberdeen, and the abbot of Kinlofs. Theſe conclude a peace “ To continue between the two realms, during “ the two princes lives, and one year after the deceaſe “ of him who ſhould firſt depart this life.”

About this time, the ſecrets of the eccleſiaſtical doctrine and authority beginning to be laid open to the view of the world, the politic government of kingdoms began to ſuffer in the alteration and diſcovery. The lady KATHARINE, daughter to FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, king and queen of Spain, and ſiſter to the mother of CHARLES V. emperor, had been married to ARTHUR prince of Wales, eldeſt ſon to HENRY VII. king of England; he dying, by the diſpenſation of pope JULIUS II, her father-in-law gave her again in marriage to HENRY his other ſon, the brother of ARTHUR. This queen though fruitful of children, and often a mother, brought none forth that long enjoyed life, and came to any perfection of growth, except one only daughter MARY. Her husband either out of ſpleen againſt the emperor CHARLES, or deſire of male-children, or other cauſes known to himſelf, “ pretended great ſcruples in his conſcience, would “ make himſelf and the world believe, that his marriage “ was not lawful.” After deliberation with his churchmen, whom he conſtrained to be of his mind, he kept not longer company with his queen. His churchmen, uſed all their eloquence to make the queen accept of a divorce, which ſhe altogether reſuſed, and had her recourſe to the pope, who recalls the cauſe to himſelf. At Rome whiſt in the conſiſtory the caſe is made difficult;
and

and the matter prolonged, king HENRY impatient of delays, and amorous, divorceth from his own queen, and marieth ANNE BULLEN, anno 1533.

Then the pope, with his whole cardinals, gave out their sentence, that it was not lawful for him, by his own authority, to separate himself from his wife; that his marriage with KATHARINE was most lawful, not to be questioned; and that under pain of excommunication he should adhere unto her.

King HENRY, well experienced in the great affairs of the world, considering how the threatnings and thunders of the bishops of Rome, even in these ancient and innocent times, when they were believed and revered, in his kingdom produced never great effects, thought them to no purpose in a time when a doctrine was published to the world, embraced and believed of numbers, by which they were contemned and scorned: upon this and other grounds he refuseth to obey, and the pope continueth his menacing.

This disorder and boldness of the king of England moved the emperor and the pope to try if they could win the king of Scotland to arise in arms against his uncle king HENRY. The emperor essayed it under pretence of other business of great importance: for having given way to new opinions in religion amongst his countrymen of Germany, and finding them mounted to that height as to have produced the effects he desired, (by this division laying a foundation to turn the imperial crown hereditary to his own house, which, Germany being all of one mind and undistracted, he could never have brought to pass) he compelleth the bishop of Rome to condescend to a general council or assembly of the clergy of Europe, the only and sovereign remedy to cure diseased minds, and accord different opinions: but he knew well, that by the church of Rome, men would be delegated to this meeting, turbulent, and so far from pacifying tumults begun, that instead of water they would apply oil and wood to these flames, turn opinions, before disputable, irreconcilable, and leave matters worse than they found them. Having implored the aid and assistance of the potentates about him to the setting forward of so pious and holy a work, he sendeth

sendeth GODESCALLO ERICO, a Siciliart, for greater secrecy, by Ireland to the king of Scotland.

This ambassador, for a token of that affection the emperor his master carried to the person and virtues of king JAMES, presenteth him with the order of the golden-fleece, anno 1534. with solemn protestations for the observing of these ancient leagues and confederacies contracted between the princes, his master's predecessors, and the kings of Scotland, to continue ever amongst themselves.

His other instructions were "Plaints of the wrongs done to his aunt KATHARINE, most unjustly repudiated and forsaken by a king forsaken of God and abhorred of men. The marriage of ANNE BULEN should wound deeply king JAMES, it being likely by her succession he should be barred from his right to the crown of England. The emperor, by his ambassador expostulating the wrongs of his aunt, had gained nothing, but that for his sake she was the worse entertained. To make more strong and lasting the emperor's friendship with king JAMES, he, if he pleased, would make him an offer, and give him the choice of three ladies, three MARRIES, all of the imperial stem; MARY of Austria, the emperor's sister, widow of LOUIS king of Hungary; MARY of Portugal, the daughter of his sister ELENORA of Austria; MARY of England, the daughter of KATHARINE and king HENRY; and would undertake the performance of this last; either by consent of her father, or by main force. The greatest but last of his instructions was, that to suppress the heresies of the time, he would concur with the emperor for the convoking a general council, and obviate the calamities then threatening the christian religion."

The king with great cheerfulness and many thanks, that the emperor entertained him with such respect, and held him worthy so fair and royal alliance, and the participation of affairs of such importance and moment, received this embassy.

"For the council, providing it were a general council lawfully convoked by the emperor and christian kings, as the first councils were wont, free and holy;

" as nothing is more holy than a general convocation
 " of christians, the most charitable and quiet of the
 " clergy, and such who would pacify matters, not
 " the greatest zealots and fiery spirits, or men cor-
 " rupted by rewards, being delegated unto it, being
 " premonished of the time and place, he would apply
 " his will unto his, assist him, thither send his best
 " orators and most convenient churchmen. That, if
 " a true council could not be obtained, every prince
 " should reform the errors of doctrine, and faults of the
 " clergy, within his own dominions.

" The proceedings of his uncle were grievous unto
 " him, being a man altogether thrall'd to his own o-
 " pinions. For the good of the christian religion and
 " peace of Europe, it were expedient that all her prin-
 " ces were united together in amity and love, and their
 " arms directed against the common enemy, the Turk.
 " For himself he would be mediator to reconcile the
 " emperor and his uncle, endeavour to recall him to the
 " love of his wife, nor by any persuasions be induced
 " to condescend to ought prejudicial to queen KATH-
 " ARINE.

" The three ladies were every one in the superlative
 " worthy, especially MARY of England, for that great
 " reason of uniting the isle of Great-Britain; but she
 " was not in her own power, nor in the power of the
 " emperor, that he could bestow her upon whom he
 " pleased. That to ravish her out of the hands of her
 " father would be, beside the danger of the enterprize,
 " a breach of divine and human laws.

" It was not safe for Paris, that he preferred one of the
 " three goddesses to the other two. For prizing those
 " three (that the emperor might know how dearly he
 " respected and earnestly affected his affinity) there re-
 " main'd a fourth lady near in blood to the emperor,
 " DOROTHEA, daughter of CHRISTIAN king of Den-
 " mark, and of ISABELLA the emperor's own sister,
 " whom, besides her matchless virtues, for the vicini-
 " ty of the nation to his, and the conformity of their
 " harmless humours, he made choice to be queen of
 " his affections and dominions."

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GODESCALLO answered this last, " That a match with lady DOROTHEA of Denmark, could not with the emperor's credit be brought to pass, because she was promised already to another, FREDERICK elector Palatine, and the marriage might be accomplished before news came to the emperor of the king's election."

This choice of the king's was but an evasion; for Sir THOMAS ERSKINE of Brechin secretary, and DAVID BEATON abbot of Aberbrothoc, under pretence of renewing the league between France and Scotland, long before had been directed to France about a marriage with the eldest daughter of king FRANCIS, which JOHN duke of Albany projected when the league between the two kingdoms was renewed at Rochel.

HENRY king of England had now renounced all obedience to the bishop of Rome, and through his whole dominions abrogated his authority; and PAUL III. after his assuming the papacy, set forwards by the emperor and his cardinals, who thought either to recover England, or burn it up by a foreign or civil war, never left thundering against him. But after, JOHN FISHER, bishop of Rochester, was beheaded, (a man imprisoned for adhering to the pope, then for his persecution, and that the king might carry him the greater respect, made cardinal) the whole conclave stir the pope against king HENRY; and full of grief and rage remonstrate what ignominy and danger would follow their order, if this example unpunished should have way. They maintained the papal power against all princes, which now for fear of their lives they would be forced to forsake; or to proceed with great timorousness and neglect, if by any secular power they might be called in judgment, and embroe scaffolds with their blood. The pope, though highly provoked, parted not from his resolution, yet used a sort of moderation; he threateneth still to let fall the blow, in the mean time holding his hand.

Thus to give satisfaction to his court, he formed a process against king HENRY, and a most severe sentence, but abstained from the publication of it during his pleasure; secretly sending many copies of it, to those princes he thought could be useful to his designs, when occasion should serve, and he proceed, with a constant rumour

rumour of the bull shortly to be put in execution and published.

Amongst many interested in wrongs by the king of England, considering there was none comparable to the nation and king of Scotland, he directeth hither JOHN ANTONIO CAMPEGGIO. This legate findeth king JAMES at Falkland, the 22d of February 1535; and here with many ceremonies and apostolical benedictions, delivereth him a "Cap and a sword, consecrated the night
" of the nativity of our Saviour, which the fame of his
" valour and many christian virtues had moved his
" master to remunerate him with. Also, saith the original, that it might breed a terror in the heart of a
" wicked neighbouring prince, against whom the sword
" was sharpened."

The pope's letter, in most submissive stile, contained,
" A complaint for the death of JOHN bishop and
" cardinal of Rochester, miserably taken away by the
" hand of an hangman; the calamities of England occasioned by the king's divorce from KATHARINE
" of Spain, and his marriage with ANNE BULLEN;
" that since the Roman church had received great disgrace and a deadly wound, and by patience procured
" daily more and more wrongs from the king of England, she was constrained to use a searing iron: for
" the application of which, she had recourse to his majesty, a prince for his ancestors piety and his own renowned. His aid, maintenance, and protection she
" implored; since king HENRY was a despiser, a scorner, one who set at nought the censures of the church,
" an heretic, schismatic, a shameful and shameless adulterer, a public and profest homicide, murtherer,
" a sacrilegious person, a church-robber, a rebel guilty
" of lese-majesty divine, outrageous, many and innumerable ways a felon, and a criminal; by all laws
" heretofore justly to be turned out of his throne: the
" king of Scotland for the defence of the church would
" undertake something worthy a christian king and himself: he would endeavour to suppress heresy, defend the catholic faith against those whom the justice
" of almighty God, and judgments, were now prepared
" and ready to be denounced."

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The king kindly entertaining the legate, answered the pope with much regret for the estate and stubbornness of the king of England. "Who would not be struck with pity, that a king, who of late amongst christian princes was honoured with the title of *defender of the faith*, should be obnoxious to so many crimes, that now amongst princes he could scarce be reputed a christian? This compassion was common to him with others, but he by a necessity of nature, and nearness of blood, felt a more piercing sorrow; he should leave no means untried to recal his uncle to the obedience of the church: and though by his ambassadors, he had once or twice gone about the same, but in vain, he would study a way how face to face he might give him his best counsel, and remonstrate how much good he would do the christian world and himself by returning again to the bosom of the church." Mean while he requested him not to be heady, forward nor rash, in executing the sentence against his uncle the king of England, which would but harden him in his separation.

King JAMES, not having lost all hopes of his uncle, directeth the lord ERSKINE to England, to acquaint him with the emperor's and pope's embassies; and to take his counsel about a marriage with the duke of Vendome's daughter, whom the French king had offered to him, his own daughter being weak and sickly. In this embassy there was a complaint against the Londoners, who in their passage to the island fishing, spoiled the coasts of Orkney and the adjacent islands: with a request that king HENRY would not succour the Lubuckers against the duke of Holstein.

The king of England, not to prove inferior to the emperor and pope in conferring honours upon his nephew, admitteth him to the fraternity of the Garter, which he delivered to the lord ERSKINE his ambassador. And thereafter dispatched WILLIAM lord HOWARD, brother to the earl of Norfolk (as if that name were a sufficient scar-crow to the pope's sword and the emperor's golden-fleece) to Scotland, who made such hasty journeys that he prevented the news of his coming, and at unawares found the king at Stirling. The substance

substance of his embassy was, " That the kings of England and Scotland might have an interview at York, at which meeting the king of Scotland should be declared duke of York, and general lieutenant of the kingdom of England. That his master, having instructions of the alliances offered him by neighbour princes, did offer to his own and his council's judgments, if they could find a more fit, than to contract a marriage with his daughter, which might be easily perfected, if his master and king JAMES could agree upon some few points."

When the king had taken these propositions into deliberation, the churchmen suspecting if this meeting and match had way, the king would embrace the opinions of the new reformers, set all their wits to overthrow it. The nearest successors to the crown, covering their claims and interest, argued, " That to marry the lady MARY of England, who for many years would not be marriageable, was not a right way to continue his race by procreation of children, and that his impatience of living alone, would not be much abated by marrying a child. That king HENRY projected this marriage to no other end than to hinder him from better alliances, or to facilitate an entry to the kingdom. That when a prince would take advantage of any neighbour prince, it was more safely done by alliance than open force. That it was more likely king HENRY, being a wary prince, never meant to marry his daughter at all as long as himself lived, but to keep her at home with him, bearing many princes in hand, to save him from dangers both at home and abroad: which counsel was practised lately by the duke of Burgundy."

Most oppose neither to the meeting of the two kings, nor to the alliance, but to the place of their meeting, which seemed unto them of no small importance, being in the heart of England, and amidst the most martial people of that nation.

" They require the two kings might have their interview at Newcastle, this place when they should meet, being most commodious for furnishing all necessities by ships; that the number of their train
" should

“ should be agreed upon; as one thousand, which none
 “ of the two kings should exceed. That the time should
 “ be at the feast of saint MICHAEL the arch-angel, be-
 “ tween the harvest and the winter, which would haste
 “ the consummation of the ceremonies, and not suf-
 “ fer the kings to prolong time, but invite their return
 “ to their own chief and principal cities.” When it
 was declared to the lord HOWARD, that the consent
 of the nobles of the kingdom being obtained, the inter-
 view at the feast of Michaelmas, at Newcastle, might
 be condescended unto; he would neither accept of the
 place nor time. “ His master having already, as a
 “ matter he had never put in question, made great pre-
 “ parations for this interview at York, that he would
 “ think his offers slighted, and an affront put upon him,
 “ if any excuses were alleged to the contrary:” thus
 with some bravados to the council he departed.

The king to give satisfaction to his uncle of his coun-
 cil's proceedings with the lord HOWARD, sendeth af-
 ter him Sir ADAM OTTERBURN of Red-hall, who lay-
 eth the fault of his not meeting, upon the lord HOW-
 ARD, complaining, “ That he menaced the counsel-
 “ lers, and would have forced their votes; that he was
 “ a great friend to Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS and o-
 “ ther rebels, who convoyed him to Scotland, and ac-
 “ companied him back again. It was against the credit
 “ and honour of free-born princes to be threatened;
 “ what was friendly begun should friendly continue and
 “ end: princes should not be constrained, especially in
 “ matters which were not of debt but benevolence.”

Amidst these importunities and solicitations king
 JAMES with five well manned ships taketh the seas,
 giving out a voyage for France; and the French re-
 cord, it was his first adventure to come to them: but
 it is more likely this proceeded from policy of state, to
 try the affections and demeanour of the great ones of
 his kingdom in his absence, rather than any intended
 voyage towards foreigners. For with this fleet he ar-
 riveth at Orkney, there in some forts placeth garrisons,
 sails about the islands of Sky and Lewis, surpriseth the
 chief of the Clans of those Highland islanders, whom
 he sent for hostages to the castles of Dunbarton and E-
 dinburgh.

Edinburgh. And when by the skill of one ALEXANDER LINDSAY his pilot, he had founded the remotest rocks of his kingdom, he was driven by storms to take land at St. Ninian's near Whitehorn in Galloway. This voyage bred great fear in those islanders and savages, and brought long peace and quietness to those countries thereafter. At his return to Edinburgh, for disorders committed or surmised in his absence, most part of the great men near the borders are charged to enter their persons in ward during the king's pleasure. WALTER SCOT of Buccleugh is committed to the castle of Edinburgh, the lord HUME to the castle of Down, Farncliff to Falkland, the laird of Johnston and MARK CAR to Dundee: and others elsewhere. He knew the common riders never made incursions without either the command or tolerance of these superiors.

The remote Highlands and borders being made peaceable by the incarcerations of the chiefs of the Clans and families there commanding, he may, when occasion is offered, in person visit any neighbour prince or state: To second his former ambassadors in their suit in France, he had sent the earl of Murray, WILLIAM STUART bishop of Aberdeen, with others: and king FRANCIS, in regard of the indisposition of his daughter MAGDALEN, had made an offer to them of his nearest kinswoman, MARY of Bourbon, daughter to CHARLES duke of Vendome.

The king's mind having been long troubled with youthful thoughts by the many matches offered him; and thinking marriages contracted and trusted to the eyes of others, one way or other deficient, resolveth to go in person and woo for himself. Upon this resolution he embarked at Leith, concealing the intention of his voyage; many suppose he maketh for England to pacify his uncle, for many wished the same. Whilst he is on the ocean, the winds contrarying his course, a violent tempest separating his ships, the pilot asketh him, "To what coast he would direct his course; to any thou best likest, answered the king, except towards England." The storm encreasing, and sleep shutting up the king's eyes, these who accompanied him, command the pilot to turn sails again for Scotland, and not strug-

gle with that pitiless element, for matters which might be delayed, and a little time could not turn worse. So when the king awoke, he found himself near his own harbours upon the Forth, and was so highly displeased with the authors of his return, that he never pardoned them. The fault was laid on Sir JAMES HAMILTON; and to stir him up more against this man, there wanted not who said, "His obedience to his prince was dissimulated, that he accompanied his master to no other end than in his voyage, than to cross his intentions so far as was in his power."

The season thereafter being more fit for navigation, he ascendeth his ships again at Kirkaldie, and with a prosperous wind the tenth day after arrived at Diep in Normandy: the earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, Errol, lords FLEMING and BOYD, attended him, with many barons and knights: the earls of Murray, young Lenox, and Cassils, the lord ERSKINE, and abbot of Aberbrothoc, expected him at Paris; but he preventing the fame of his coming, with a small train holdeth his way to Vendome, to see the lady MARY of Bourbon; all which way, one JOHN TENNANT personating the lord of the company, he passed undescried. But being come to Vendome, whether the lady had a letter for the same from DAVID BEATON, or that by matching the faces of one of those strangers with a portrait she had of king JAMES in likeness, as she said, he was found out, and challenged by the lady of that fault, which was easily confessed and pardoned. He found her very beautiful, and eminent in all princely excellencies; but bethinking how he having choice of three princesses, all daughters of kings, if he should fix his affection on this lady at the first interview, he should be obnoxious to the indignation of the other, he returned as he came towards Rouen, where his nobles attended him, and having understood that king FRANCIS was to give the emperor battle in Provence, quitting his retinue he posted towards him. The Dauphin meeteth him at the chapel between Tarray and St. Saphorin in the country of Lions. King FRANCIS receiveth him with as much honour as could be desired, and convoyeth him to Paris: The peers of the kingdom haste from all quarters thither

ther to entertain this stranger prince, and the court is changed into an academy of knightly exercise, where king JAMES proveth inferior to none in feats of arms. MAGDALEN the king's eldest daughter is his mistress, a lady fair, young, of a lovely countenance and comely behaviour above all others of the kingdom. The lady MARGARET her younger sister, who after was married to the duke of Savoy, is offered to him, by reason of the tender and weak disposition of her sister; but MAGDALEN by the glances of her princely wooer re-obtaining her health (her body as it were following the temperature of her spirit, or that it appeared to herself and her father so) king JAMES continuing in his first resolution, the marriage is contracted between them, an hundred thousand crowns of the sum being promised in dowry, besides thirty thousand franks of yearly pension during the life of king JAMES; the jointure assured to her by the king of Scotland, was all the lands possessed by any former queen, the earldoms of Strathern and Fife, with the palace of Falkland, and other lands of the best and most certain revenue.

Thus anno 1537. in the church of Nostre-Dame in Paris, the king of Scotland married the lady MAGDALEN in presence of her father, seven cardinals, the king of Navarre, and many great dukes and barons.

King FRANCIS, after the solemnities of this marriage, Picardy and Piedmont being then over-run by the Imperialists; and king JAMES, fearing he might suffer wrong in his absence, by the king of England, with assurance of mutual amity, part from other in the end of April, and from New-haven the queen with her husband the 29th of May arrives at the port of Leith. It is reported, that after she put her foot on the shore, upon her knees she kissed the ground, *praying for all happiness, to the country and people.* Never queen in so short time was more beloved of her husband, nor sooner made conquest of the hearts of her subjects: nor was there greater hopes conceived of any alliance than of this, nor greater joy did ever arise from those hopes: but as in the life of man there is ever remaining more of bitter than sweet; so were these contentments but shadows, matched with the real sorrow that the death of

that young lady brought forth. For she lived not many weeks after her arrival in Scotland, when of a fever, which she contracted in June, she departed this life in July: she was buried with the greatest mourning Scotland ever till that time was participant of, in the church of Holy-rood-house near king JAMES II.

These last honours to the dead queen and funeral pomp finished, the king, desirous of succession, bath yet his thoughts wandering in France: MARY of Bourbon, daughter to CHARLES duke of Vendome, being frustrate of her royal hopes, had not only turned religious, but was dead of displeasure. Whilst he disported himself at the court of France, he had been acquainted with a lady rich in all excellencies, who next MAGDALEN had the power of his affections, MARY of Lorraine, sister to FRANCIS, daughter to RENE duke of Guise, and widow of the duke of Longueville: her he thinketh, for her stem, healthful complexion, fertility, for she had been a mother, and other fortunes, worthy of his love. But to try her affection towards him, he directeth DAVID BEATON his late paronymph, and the lord MAXWELL, to France. Whilst they traffic this marriage, many false accusations, as plots laid against his person, are intended one after another at the court, amongst which two are remarkable for their notable calumny.

JOHN, eldest son to the lord FORBES, a young gentleman, chief of his name, hardy and valorous, but ill brought up, and therefore easily suspected to be capable of any sin, had for a servant, or companion and ordinary sharer of his pleasures, one named STRACHAN, a man come of the dreg of the people, and perfectly wicked. This man, after much familiarity, and some secret service and attendance, to satiate his insatiable desire, desired earnestly something from the master of Forbes, which he passionately refused to give him; upon which, carried away with rage and malice, he not only renounced his friendship and service, but betook himself to the service of his enemy the earl of Huntley: by whose advice he forgeth a malicious plot to overthrow him. To compass their design they accuse the master of Forbes to have had once an intention and mind to kill
the

the king, that the DOUGLASSES might be restored to their wonted honours and ancient possessions. By price and prayers witnesses are procured to prove this against him, and convict him, or at the least to leave him suspected and tashed with this treason. Though this crime was not sufficiently and clearly proved, yet was the master of Forbes indicted and convicted by an assize, for having conspired the king's death, for which he was beheaded and quartered, and his quarters set aloft upon the gates of Edinburgh.

This gentleman's death proveth, how dangerous the society and company of the wicked is to any; for ascending the fatal scaffold, he justified his innocence of what was laid to his charge, but confessed, the guilt of the laird of Drum's blood by the justice of God brought him to that end. His father the lord FORBES was, upon suspicion, kept long after in the castle of Edinburgh. The king, when he could not amend what was past, testified he was grieved at the death of this nobleman; for he banished STRACHAN, because he had so long concealed the treason of FORBES, silence, in a matter importing no less than the life of a prince, being reckoned equal to the treason: he made his second brother one of his domestics, restoring him to the estate which was forfeited.

This thunder-clap was immediately followed by another, for the quality of the person, and strangeness of the crime deplorable, but more for the horror and terror of the punishment.

JANE DOUGLAS, sister to ARCHIBALD earl of Angus, the widow of JOHN LYON lord GLAMIS, with her husband ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL of Keepneath, her young son the lord GLAMIS, and an old priest, were brought to Edinburgh, committed, and accused that they designed to have poisoned the king. Their accuser was WILLIAM LYON, a kinsman of the late lord GLAMIS. This treason had no probability of truth among such who knew the accused, being persons who lived far from the court in their solitary mansions, seldom or never almost seeing the king. Nevertheless their accusations were believed, and strict command given to the judges to dispatch their process.

WILLIAM LYON aggravating the case, represented to the king "The ancient faults of the family of the DOUG-

"GLASSES, committed against his predecessors, the particular wrongs of earl ARCHIBALD now stirring up the English against him, and ravaging his borders; that he should believe, he not being able to be restored to his first estate, by prayers and solicitations of neighbour princes, nor by open force, did now set on work his last engines to come to his end, though it were with the life of his sovereign; that in so secret and dangerous a plot he could not use but his nearest kindred; a woman, and his own sister, might attempt such a mischief, her sex and other qualities making her less suspected to have access to his person.

"Suppose clear proofs could not be found against her, the whole race of the DOUGLASSES should be extirpated, being a lineage only fertile in bringing forth monsters of rebellion. That by sparing her life, and suffering her to escape, he should afford her time, licence, and power, to execute what she but now, perhaps, had intended."

The king not knowing the man's particular hatred against this lady (for some write, "He did inform against her in revenge that she refused to marry him, giving herself to another") suffered the process to be concluded.

Some of the judges would have referred her to the king's clemency, till a farther trial of the witnesses might be had, upon whose testimony the process did depend, it being a safer way in judgment to absolve the guilty, than condemn the innocent. But the most part gave her over to the assizers; the better part of which being in voices fewer, the greater, who neither respecting conscience within them, nor shame with the present age and posterity, nor the supreme justice of heaven, find this poor lady guilty, and she is condemned to be burnt alive. Her sentence was executed the fifth day after the beheading of the master of Forbes on the castle-hill of Edinburgh, in sight of her husband; who either out of revenge or fear, after this tragical end of his lady, seeking to save himself by escape out of the prison, whilst he came over the wall, by the shortness of the

the cable was dashed against the rock, and found dead. Though the tender years of the lord GLAMIS, her son, proved his innocence; yet he remained prisoner in the castle till after the king's death. The old priest, when, after torture, nothing could be proved against him, was set at liberty. WILLIAM LYON the author of this calumny was banished the country, which justified the lady's integrity, and verified, that however princes love to find out treason, they hate the informers, except upon clear grounds.

Upon the like suspicions DRUMLANRIG and HEMPSFIELD, ancient barons, having challenged others, had leave to try the verity by combat: the lists were designed by the king, who was a spectator and umpire of their valour, at the court of the palace of Holy-rood-house. They appeared upon the day, armed from head to foot, like ancient Paladines, and after many enterchanged blows to the disadvantage of their casks, corslets and vantbraces, when the one was become breathless, by the weight of his arms and thunder of the blows, and the other, who was short-sighted, had broken his ponderous sword, the king, by heralds, caused separate them with disadvantage to neither of these champions; and the verity which was found, was, that they dared both fight in close arms.

The abbot of Aberbrothoc, and the lord MAXWELL, by many enterchanged letters full of princely love, had assured the king and the lady MARY of Lorrain; and articles being agreed upon, to the great content of the French, they were espoused by proxy, as is the custom among princes, with great triumph in the city of Paris, in the presence of the French king and many peers; after which solemnity, monsieur D'ANNAULT, admiral of France, accompanied her to New-haven in the beginning of the month of June 1538, where she embarked, and with many French ships, when she had been tossed on the seas, came to Fife-ness; where, at Carail she was attended by the noblemen, and the king, who consummated the marriage in the cathedral church of St. Andrews in July.

Nothing more linketh the affections of the married than children: the first year the queen answereth her

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husband's hopes, and in St. Andrews was delivered of a son, who was named JAMES; the arch-bishop of St. Andrews and earl of Arran being his god-fathers, and the old queen, the king's mother, his god-mother, 1539. In February thereafter she was crowned queen of Scotland, in the abby church of Holy-rood-house, by the abbot of Aberbrothoc; at which time MARGARET the old queen falling sick at Methven in few days departed, and was buried in the Charter-house of St. Johnston near the tomb of king JAMES I; the king her son, with all the nobility and gentry, being present at her funerals, which were celebrated in most solemn and pompous manner. Not long after JAMES BEATON arch-bishop, a man of great age, followed this lady to the other world: he had provided successors to his benefices, and his arch-bishop's see to DAVID BEATON, afterwards cardinal, whom the king accepted and admitted without contestation.

The kingdom now began to be divided in opinions of religion, they which held the helm of state, labouring in vain to reconcile them. The king was sore perplexed and uncertain what course to follow; suppress them he could not; to give way to them, without shaking the strongest beams of the policy of his kingdom, seemed unto him impossible. His privy counsellors being more of his ancient servants, than nobles or church-men (of which many were groping through these flecked clouds of ignorance) as they favoured gave their opinions, some one way, some another; and a freedom of speech being given, one of them, as they were in his chamber together, spake to him to this purpose.

"Sir, amongst the many blessings your subjects enjoy under this your government, this is not the least, that for the weal of your majesty, and the public good of the kingdom, the meanest of your subjects may freely open his mind and declare his opinion unto you his sovereign.

"And if ever there was a time in which grave, good and sound counsel should be delivered to your majesty, it is this, and the difficulties of the commonwealth do now require it. Not ever, in matters of advice and consultation, can we embrace and follow what is
"most

“ most reasonable, and what according to laws, justice,
 “ and equity, should be, but what necessity driveth us
 “ unto, and what is most convenient for the present
 “ time to be, and what we may well and fairly accom-
 “ plish and bring to pass.

“ The estate of your kingdom is troubled with di-
 “ versity of opinions concerning religion; it is to be
 “ wished that the one only true religion were in the
 “ hearts of all your subjects, (since diversity of opini-
 “ ons of religion and heresies are the very punishment
 “ of God almighty upon men for their horrible vices
 “ and roring sins. And when men forsake his fear
 “ and true obedience, God abandoneth them to their
 “ own opinions and fantasies in religion; out of which
 “ arise partialities, factions, divisions, strife and inte-
 “ stine discords, which burst forth into civil wars, and
 “ in short time bring kingdoms and commonwealths to
 “ their last periods.) But matters arising to such a height
 “ and disorder, as by all appearance, they are like to
 “ advance in this kingdom, the number of the sectaries
 “ daily increasing, without dissembling my thoughts
 “ to your majesty, the preservation of the people be-
 “ ing the supream and principal law which God almighty
 “ hath enjoined to all princes;

“ I hold it more expedient to give place to the exer-
 “ cise of both religions, than under pretence and sha-
 “ dow of them to suffer the common peace of your sub-
 “ jects to be torn in pieces. What can wisdom, Sir,
 “ advise you to do with these separatists? Either they
 “ must be tolerated for a time, or they must altogether
 “ be removed, and that by death or banishment.

“ So soon as a prince beginneth to spoil, banish, kill,
 “ and burn his people, for matters abstract from sense,
 “ and altogether spiritual, he becometh as it were a
 “ plague unto them. It is an error of state in a prince,
 “ for an opinion of piety to condemn to death the ad-
 “ herers to new doctrine. For, the constancy and pa-
 “ tience of those who voluntarily suffer all temporal
 “ miseries, and death itself, for matters of faith, stir up
 “ and invite numbers, who at first, and before they had
 “ suffered, were ignorant of their faith and doctrine,
 “ not only to favour their cause, but to embrace their

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“ opinions, pity and commiseration opening the gates.
 “ Thus their belief spreadeth itself abroad, and their
 “ number daily encreaseth.

“ It is no less an error of state to banish them : banished men are so many enemies abroad, ready upon all occasions to invade their native country, to trouble the peace and tranquillity of your kingdom.

“ To take arms against sectaries and separatists will be a great enterprize, a matter hard and of many dangers : religion cannot be preached by arms ; the first christians detested that form of proceeding ; force and compulsion may bring forth hypocrites, not true christians. If there be any heresy amongst your people, this wound is in the soul ; our souls being spiritual substances, upon which fire and iron cannot work, they must be overcome by spiritual arms : love the men, and pity their errors.

“ Who can lay upon a man a necessity to believe that which he will not believe, or what he will believe, or doth believe, not to believe. No prince hath such power over the souls and thoughts of men as he hath over their bodies. Now to ruin and extirpate all those sectaries, what will it prove else than to cut off one of your arms, to the great prejudice of your kingdom and weakening of the state ? They daily increasing in number, and no man being so miserable and mean, but he is a member of the state. The more easy manner and nobler way were to tolerate both religions, and grant a place to two churches in the kingdom, till it shall please almighty God to return the minds of your subjects, and turn them all of one will and opinion ; be content to keep that which ye may, Sir, since ye cannot that which ye would.

“ It is a false and erroneous opinion, that a kingdom cannot subsist which tolerateth two religions : diversity of religion shutteth not up society, nor bareth civil conversation among men ; a little time will make persons of different religions contract such acquaintance, custom, and familiarity together, that they will be intermixt in one city, family, yea marriage-bed ;

“riage-bed; state and religion having nothing common.

“Why, I pray, may not two religions be suffered in a state (till by some sweet and easy means they may be reduced to a right government) since in the church, which should be union itself, and of which the Roman church much vaunteth, almost infinite sects and kinds of monks are suffered; differing in their laws, rules of government, fashions of living, diet, apparel, maintenance, and opinions of perfection, and who sequester themselves from our public union? The Roman empire had its extension, not by similitude and likeness of religion. Different religions, providing they enterprize or practise nothing against the politic laws of the kingdom, may be tolerated in a state.

“The murders, massacres, and battles, which arise and are like daily to encrease amongst christians, all which are undertaken for religion, are a thousand times more execrable, and more open, plain, and flat impiety, than this liberty of diversity of religions, with a quiet peace, can be unjust.

“Forasmuch as the greatest part of those who flesh themselves in blood and slaughter, and overturn by arms the peace of their neighbours, whom they should love as themselves, spoiling and ravaging like famished lions, sacrifice their souls to the infernal powers, without further hopes or means of their ever recovering and coming back, when those others are in some way of repentance.

“In seeking liberty of religion, these men seek not to believe any thing that may come in their brains; but to use religion according to the first christian institutions, serving God and obeying the laws under which they were born.

“That maxim so often repeated amongst the churchmen of Rome, that the chace and following of heretics is more necessary than that of infidels, is well applied for the enlarging and increasing the dominions, sovereignty and power of the pope, but not for the amplifying and extending of the christian religion, and the weal and benefit of the christian commonwealth.

“Kingdoms

“ Kingdoms and sovereignties should not be govern-
 “ ed by the laws and interests of priests and church-
 “ men, but according to the exigency, need, and as
 “ the case requireth, of the public weal, which often
 “ is necessitated to pass and tolerate some defects and
 “ faults. It is the duty of all christian princes to en-
 “ deavour and take pains that their subjects embrace the
 “ true faith, as that seemably, and in even parts, they
 “ observe all God’s commandments, and not more one
 “ commandment than another.

“ Notwithstanding, when a vice cannot be extirpated
 “ and taken away, without the ruin of the state, it
 “ would appear to human judgments that it should
 “ be suffered. Neither is there a greater obligation,
 “ bond, or necessity of law, to punish heretics more
 “ than fornicators, which yet for the peace and tran-
 “ quillity of the state are tolerated and pass over. Nei-
 “ ther can a greater inconvenience and harm follow, if
 “ we shall suffer men to live in our commonwealth who
 “ believe not, nor embrace all our opinions. In a state
 “ many things are for the time tolerated, because they
 “ cannot, without the total ruin of the state, be sud-
 “ denly amended and reformed.

“ These men are of that same nature and condition
 “ of which we are; they worship, as we do, one God,
 “ they believe those very same holy records; we both
 “ aim at salvation; we both fear to offend God; we
 “ both set before us one happiness. The difference be-
 “ tween them and us hangeth upon this one point, that
 “ they having found abuses in our church, require a
 “ reformation. Now shall it be said for that we run di-
 “ verse ways to one end, and understand not rightly o-
 “ thers language, we shall pursue others with fire and
 “ sword, and extirpate others from the face of the
 “ earth? God is not in the bitter division and aliena-
 “ tion of affections, nor the raging flames of seditions,
 “ nor in the tempests of the turbulent whirlwinds of
 “ contradictions and disputations, but in the calm
 “ and gentle breathings of peace and concord: if any
 “ wander out of the high-way, we bring him to it a-
 “ gain; if any be in darkness, we shew him light and
 “ kill him not. In musical instruments, if a string jar
 “ and

“ and be out of tune, we do not frettingly break it, but
 “ leisurely veer it about to a concord: and shall we be
 “ so churlish, cruel, and uncharitable, and so wedded
 “ to our own superstitious opinions, that we will bar-
 “ bawly banish, kill, and burn those whom by love
 “ and sweetness we might readily win and recal again?

“ Let us win and bring over these men by reason;
 “ let them be cited to a free council; it may be they
 “ shall not be proved heretics, neither that they main-
 “ tain opinions condemned by the ancient councils.
 “ Let their religion be compared and paralleled with the
 “ religion of the first age of the church.

“ Shall we hold this people worse than the Jews,
 “ which yet have their synagogues at Rome itself? let
 “ them receive instructions from a free and lawful coun-
 “ cil, and forsake their errors, when they shall be clear-
 “ ly and fairly demonstrated unto them. Heresy is an
 “ error in the fundamental grounds of religion; schism
 “ intendeth a resolution in separation: let a good coun-
 “ cil be convoked, and see if they be ready, or not,
 “ to re-unite themselves to us.

“ That which they believe is not evil, but to some
 “ it will appear they believe not enough, and that there
 “ is in them rather a defect of good than any habit of
 “ evil. Other points, when they shall be considered,
 “ shall be found to consist in external ceremonies of the
 “ church, rather than in substance of doctrine, or what
 “ is essential to christianity. These men should be
 “ judged before condemned, and they should be heard
 “ before they be judged; which being holily and up-
 “ rightly done we shall find it is not our religions, but
 “ our private interests and passions which troubleth us
 “ and the state.”

The king followed not this opinion, but gave him-
 self over to the counsel and government of the prelates.
 They remonstrate to him, “ That he should not rashly
 “ alter approved and long received customs; that there
 “ was nothing more dangerous in government, than to
 “ abase the authority of ancient laws. Let him well
 “ consider and set before his eyes the malice of man,
 “ who ever when he is drawn off one course of evil pre-
 “ cipitateth himself in a worse. It was less evil in the

“ state

“ state to tolerate disorders known, unto which usual
 “ and accustomed remedies might be applied, than by
 “ altering and changing foundations to give way to new;
 “ to find out remedies to which, would take up and
 “ consume a whole age. That this would be a way, not
 “ only to take away the abuses, but even the good us-
 “ es of every thing, and put in hazard all matters and
 “ main points concerning religion. They desired him
 “ to consider how there were two sorts of persons affe-
 “ cting these new opinions, and studying novations.
 “ The multitude or common people, and some of the
 “ nobility and gentry. It was likely the common peo-
 “ ple might be deceived; and to give them satisfaction,
 “ and appease them, by granting them a reformation
 “ or change in religion, would not be a means to illu-
 “ minate and instruct them, but to bring in a popular
 “ licence. If he should suffer them to misbelieve, di-
 “ strust, and call in question points of religion, or search
 “ or find out more light, they would immediately there-
 “ after presume to make laws, and limit the govern-
 “ ment, by degrees restraining the sovereign authority,
 “ and after they had examined, sifted narrowly, and
 “ discussed ecclesiastical authority, they would essay to
 “ correct and find out the difficulties of the temporah.
 “ That it was more easy to oppose and resist the first de-
 “ mands of the multitude, than pleasing them in a part,
 “ after to bound and limit their desires and petitions.
 “ As to the great men of his nobility and gentry, he
 “ might be assured they had no religion and piety for
 “ their ends, but to impatronize and lay hold on the
 “ church rents, and ecclesiastical goods; to turn abso-
 “ lute and free men, acknowledging neither church nor
 “ king. To this end, many reserved themselves, and
 “ kept close their opinions, attending the change; which
 “ once appearing, their faces would turn all one way.
 “ Which imminent evils, if the king would prevent,
 “ there was no other means than to use his authority
 “ and power, whilst the most and greatest part of his
 “ kingdom yet obeyed him. That celerity in this was
 “ most necessary, before their number increased, and
 “ ere they discovered that universal commodity, which
 “ would follow the embracing of these new opinions.

“ It

"It was safer to compose these tumults by his absolute command and authority; and, if this produced not the wished effect, to perform it by arms, than to give reins to a popular licence, and the ambition of great men."

After this counsel had prevailed, most rigorous inquisitions are established, and punishments denounced against all who professed opinions differing from the church of Rome.

Whereupon some out of a muffled zeal of religion, others to revenge their particular quarrels, most to possess moveables and lands, pursue many to judgment. Of which some are executed by fire, others banished, many imprisoned; amongst which was that famous poet and historian GEORGE BUCHANAN, who whilst his keepers slept, escaped by a window of the prison, the muses holding the cable. The more frequent the public executions were and banishments, the greater number embraced the opinions of them which suffered.

The king of England having understood that the pope, giving out the confirming of a peace between the emperor and the French king, had a meeting with them at Nice, a maritime town upon the confines of Provence, and assuring himself that matters there would be both consulted upon, and determined to his prejudice, sendeth again to his nephew the king of Scotland, that he would come and see him at York; for now he had more vehemently irritated the pope, having condemned as rebels, and confiscated the goods of all who maintained papal authority, and raised from their tomb the bones of THOMAS BECKET (commonly named Saint THOMAS of Canterbury, canonized by pope ALEXANDER III. for being killed for the maintenance of the liberties of the church 1171. to whom there was yearly a festival day kept by the Roman church) and by the hands of a common executioner caused burn to ashes, and throw them into the river. The revealing of which to the world was a secret more derogatory to the pontifical state, than any stumbled upon heretofore, or opened up. Upon this the sentence of excommunication, some years deferred, was pronounced against him. By which he was deprived of his kingdom, and those

those who adhered to him, declared incapable of what they possessed. His subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and discharged to obey him. Strangers were inhibited traffic with his kingdom. All christians charged to arise in arms against him. The estates, goods and persons of such subjects as followed him, given over to be a prey and spoil to any would invade them.

It was time for him to look to himself. Such of the nobility as loved peace, and the weal of the two kingdoms, stirred up king JAMES to this interview, especially they who favoured the reformed religion; assuring him "King HENRY was disposed with all demonstrations of good-will; that his person would be far from any danger. And if by this conference they should join in bands of amity, a great benefit to themselves, country and posterity, would redound. Why would king HENRY, in the face of the world and neighbour princes, brand so his reputation, as to break the laws of hospitality, wrong a prince whom he had invited to come and see him? Why would he violate those of consanguinity, attempting against his own nephew? The emperor CHARLES V. had been his guest, and after royal entertainment, was friendly dismissed. He met with FRANCIS the French king at Bollogne; which meeting seemed rather of brothers come to countenance some marriage-pomp, than contending neighbours. If king HENRY had born any discontent against his nephew, he might long ere now have satisfied his ambition, and at a more easy rate, when the king his father with most of the nobility and gentry of Scotland received that fatal overthrow by the hills of Flowden and banks of Till: the refusing of an interview might divide the king and his uncle, upon which might follow some unnatural war."

Upon the other part, the churchmen set all their power to hinder this interview, persuading themselves it would give a terrible blow to their estates or religion: "The principal cause, say they, why the king of England is so passionately earnest to have this meeting, is to persuade his nephew to conform church-matters in

Scotland

“ Scotland to those already begun in England; to abolish the pope’s authority, to drive religious persons from their lands, rents, and houses; and to invest the jewels and ornaments of the churches. Which counsel and example if JAMES should follow, he would hazard or lose the friendship he had with the pope, emperor and French king, his best confederates, abandoned of which he and his kingdom would be left a prey to the tyranny of his uncle. If HENRY kept no faith to God, men had no reason to trust him. That this interview was to intrap his person; he being the man whom the pope and emperor had designed to set upon his throne, and revenge their quarrels; that it was grossly to err, to be carried away with a shadow and appearance, and leave a substance, to trust at once his crown, person and liberty to an enemy. And since examples move more than precepts, let him think upon the hazard of king JAMES I. eighteen years prisoner, and after sold to his subjects; MALCOLM and WILLIAM kings of Scotland. He should remember, if yet he were therein intrusted, that princes serve themselves with occasions over their neighbours; that they have greater care to satisfy their ambition, than fear of shame for doing of wrongs with the present times and posterity. That their oaths were no longer kept than they observed their advantages. That after he falleth into his hands, he must follow his manners, and religion, forsaking and giving over his own natural disposition, manners and freedom, and have no other affections nor motions than his. For who cometh under the roof of a tyrant turneth slave, though he was a free man ere he did enter. That this meeting with the body, would endanger the soul, and infect it with his errors, corrupting it with false opinions grounded upon a liberty to live to sensuality and Epicurean pleasure. If upon the sighting of this interview, king HENRY should denounce war against king JAMES, and invade his country, they in his just defence should furnish money to entertain an army and overturn his proceedings. For the present necessity they offer to pay him fifty thousand crowns
“ yearly;

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“ yearly ; and in any hazard of the estate voluntarily
 “ to contribute all their rents, and revenues, provid-
 “ ing it would please his majesty to suffer justice to pro-
 “ ceed against those who scandalously had sequestred
 “ themselves from the holy church, and to the con-
 “ tempt of his laws publicly made profession of the o-
 “ pinions of Luther. That the goods of all who should
 “ be convicted of heresy (which they esteemed to no
 “ less than an hundred thousand crowns of yearly rent)
 “ should be brought to the exchequer, and their lands
 “ annexed to the crown. To this effect they intreat his
 “ majesty, to give them sufficient judges, truly catho-
 “ lic, and full of zeal and severity.”

After long reasoning upon both sides, it was agreed, that the king should not altogether refuse to meet his uncle, but adhere to the first offers propounded to his ambassador concerning this interview. The meeting to be at Newcastle, one thousand at the most in train with either king, the time to be the feast of St. MICHAEL the arch-angel.

These conditions not being embraced by king HENRY, would, if not abolish totally, at the least prolong the time of this meeting. The king of England thinketh his nephew too imperious, to assume the injunction of the whole circumstances of their meeting, but, rather than his suit should take no effect, accepteth both of the place and number of the train : and that he might have some point yielded unto him, requireth the time may be the first of August. These conditions being almost agreed upon, three or four hundred Ridgedale and Tinedale men, with other borderers, break in upon Lidgedale, and there with large incursions kill and forage. This during the treaty falling miserably forth, so much irritated king JAMES, that, accepting the offers of his clergy, he gave over inwardly all intentions of any interview ; by prolonging time labouring to wind himself out of the maze. Hereupon he sendeth letters full of excuses for his stay ; representing his many grievances and wrongs suffered ; and the seeds of discord begun now to be sown amongst them. To lighten and recreate his cloudy thoughts, the queen is delivered at Stirling of another son, who with great solemnity is baptized

baptized in the chapel of the castle, and named ARTHUR.

The prelates, after mature deliberation, present Sir JAMES HAMILTON, natural son to the earl of Arran, to be supreme judge of the inquisition, against all suspected of heresy and new opinions differing from the faith of the Roman church. The king approving their judgments, in their choice, admitteth him. Sir JAMES cheerfully accepteth this new honour: for now his ambition will find many guilty and miserable supplicants: yet was this charge his ruin. For whilst he persecuteth all who were informed against to be suspected of the reformed religion, having many in goals, and numbers in his scrolls to bring within the labyrinth of a process, the supreme providence arresteth himself.

JAMES HAMILTON sheriff of Linlithgow, brother to Mr. PATRICK HAMILTON abbot of Ferme, (who had suffered for religion, and was cousin to Sir JAMES HAMILTON of Fennard, lord inquisitor) for embracing his brother's opinions, had been pursued so by the churchmen, that he was constrained to forsake his own country, and some years wander as a banished man abroad: but, by his friends at court, having purchased a licence or protection for some months to see his desolate family, and put his private affairs in order, cometh home. Where finding the censorian power to be in his cousin's hands, (for where should he have sanctuary, if he were challenged by so near a kinsman for matters of religion?) imagining to himself an oversight and preterition, outdateth, by his stay, his protection. Sir JAMES, to curry the favour of the churchmen, and testify how dearly the cause of the catholic faith touched him, resolveth to begin with his cousin. For if he were so burnt up with zeal, that he spared not his own blood in the quarrel of the Roman faith, what heretic could pass unpunished? besides the investing himself in the sheriff's office and lands, which he never minded to restore, he had a pique against him, for that, whilst he sat judge in Linlithgow, he had pronounced a sentence by which he was interested in some petty gain.

The sheriff falling so far short of his expectation, that he findeth himself the first subject of his cousin's justice,
and

and highly resenting his kinsman's cruelty, whom he knew under pretext of piety ready to execute his own revenge, resolveth to prevent his mischief. He had been sometime familiar with Sir JAMES, had known his by-paths; his secret plots and airy brags had not escaped his observation. Some alike in kindred to them both, were emissaries suborned, to mark not only his actions, but words and behaviour, by which one way or other he might be intraped: he knew Sir JAMES stood in some umbrage with the king, and that some suspicions by no innocence could be taken away. When at last he had found his hot-spar cousin, who threatened him with death and fire, within the circle of his conjurations, he directeth his son to the king, who at that time was ready to pass the Forth in his barge. This bashful messenger giveth advertisement from his father, that the king should make his person sure from his foes at home; for Sir JAMES HAMILTON had secret intelligence and plots with the earl of Angus and the DOUGLASSES, and that he attended only the occasion when he might surprize him, either alone, or with a mean retinue, and then, or openly he would invade him, or, breaking up his chamber-doors, assassinate him. The king giving attentive ear to a business which concerned him no less than the safety of his person, the accusation being given by a cousin of the person suspected, against a family, which a little disorder in the state might turn successors to the crown, directeth the young man to Edinburgh, and beyond his private instructions, giveth him a ring, well known by the chief officers to be a token of power and secrecy, to assemble so many of the council as were resident. Sir THOMAS ERSKINE secretary, Sir JAMES LEARMONT master of the household, WILLIAM KIRKALDIE treasurer, and others, meet, consult upon the treason, labour how to prevent it, come to Sir JAMES's lodging, make sure his person in the castle of Edinburgh; and at that same time proceed, according to the king's direction to instruct his process. Sir JAMES passionately resenting his imprisonment, by his friends imploreth the aid of the churchmen upon his innocence. They apprehending his accusation to be a stratagem of state
forged

forged by these of the reformed religion, for the stopping any further progress of the inquisition, already so furiously begun, interpose their credit with the king for his liberty to the discharging of his commission against heretics. "If the king should hearken to every informer against a man in state and office, he should never have an end; for thus no man is so innocent, who may not be detracted and calumniated. Sir JAMES was known to be a man rash and insolent in words, his brains having been a little giddy, like one looking from a great height, by his advancement to honours and place in court; but sincere in the service of his prince, and loyal. If he was arrogant in boldness of terms, that was to acquire some more credit with the commons, that he might do better service to his prince."

They who committed Sir JAMES HAMILTON, knowing the king facile and easy to be wrought upon by the clergy, some of them too, professing or giving way to the reformed religion, resolve, if he should escape free of this accusation, that an imminent ruin hung over their persons and estates. Necessity and fear combining the distracted powers of their minds, they come prostrate before the king, beseech him, "Not so much to look to the quality and circumstances of the crime, as to the evil inclination of the man, who, powerful, factious, and naturally vindictive, would never forgive nor forget the danger he was driven unto; that his majesty would consider his past life, terrible and cruel against all whom he could reach. That to give him liberty, and relieve him of his imprisonment, before the crimes of which he was accused were clearly proved, or not, would be their, and the accusers, overthrow; whom they esteemed loyal subjects, and except upon evident probabilities, had never given informations against him. That he was a man perfectly hated of the people, and a more acceptable sacrifice could not be offered unto their fury, if he proved guilty." At their supplications the king gave the judges full power to proceed against him, and administer justice according to their consciences and the laws of the kingdom. The panel

nel being found guilty of such points of the inditement as was laid against him, was condemned to die, and thereafter accordingly beheaded, his quarters being set aloft on the town gates, and his lands annexed to the crown.

The crimes of which he was found guilty (as from those who lived near that time they have by tradition been received) were; he had intelligence with the earl of Angus and the DOUGLASSES, whom he laboured to have restored, though with the king's death: he had a plot to have broken up the king's chamber-doors, and killed him, devolving the title of the crown, or at least the government of the kingdom to his kindred. Being directed to have repaired a castle in Bute, and to this effect receiving three thousand crowns in April, he went not thither, attending some change in the state, which was to be accomplished by treason against the king's person. He kept still with him men of desperate minds and fortunes, who at his direction durst enterprize any mischief.

Where he had repaired some of the king's houses, he had placed a statue resembling himself, or which to some he had named his statue (what mole-hills are turned into mountains when a prince will pry into the actions of a disgraced subject?) above the king's arms. He had detracted from his master, naming him the king of clowns and priests, and scourge of the ancient nobility; he had laboured to hinder the king's marriage at his being in France.

To these points the people, who rejoiced in his ruin, added, he had slain cruelly the earl of Lenox at the battle of Linlithgow, after he was prisoner to Pardow; and he had way-laid GILBERT earl of Cassils, who was killed by his direction and counsel.

This back-blow of fortune proveth, that it is dangerous once highly to offend a prince, and after remain in his service; for princes put old offences up as neglected, and when the occasion serveth them, surprize long after the delinquents for some faults of which they are scarce guilty.

Sundry of the nobility, appalled at this sudden fall of Sir JAMES HAMILTON (for though they loved not the

the man, they hated the example of such strict justice) left the court, retiring to their own dwelling-houses; which made the king suspicious of them, and believe they favoured the reformed religion, and preferred the friendship of king HENRY his uncle to his. Neither was he herein far mistaken: for some feared not to send him word, that they had learned, that the churchmen had set him on work to extirpate his ancient nobility, as if it were an easy matter to create as many new out of the gentry, in whom, being his own creatures, he might have greater confidence than any made by his predecessors.

After this he turned so retired, fullen and melancholy, that every thing displeased him, and he became even insupportable to himself, not suffering his domestic servants to use their ordinary desport and recreations near him. And as all day he projected and figured to himself new cares to perplex himself, some of which might fall forth, others could never come to pass; so in the night time the objects of his daily projects working upon his fancy, limned their dark shadows of displeasures, which gave him terrible affrightments in his sleep. Amongst many of which, two are recorded as notable; one in the history of the church, the other common; both seem to have been forged by the men of those times, who thought fictions as powerful to breed an opinion in discontented minds, as verities, and they may challenge a place in the poetical part of history. As he lay in the palace of Linlithgow about the midst of the night, he leaped out of his bed, calleth for lights, commandeth his servants to search THOMAS SCOT, his justice clerk, who, he said, stood by his bed-side accompanied with hideous wights, cursing the time that ever he had served him; for by too great obedience to him, he was, by the justice of God, condemned to everlasting torments.

Whilst they about him laboured to cure his wounded imagination, news came that THOMAS SCOT about that same hour of the night was departed to the other world at Edinburgh, and with no better devotion than he was represented to the king.

After

After Sir JAMES HAMILTON had ended his part of this tragic-comedy of life, he seemed to the king to have returned on the stage, and in a ghastly manner; with a naked sword in his hands, he thought he parted both his arms from him, advising him he would come again shortly, and be more fully revenged, till which occasion he should suffer these wounds. The next day after this vision, which is recorded to have been the 7th of August, word came that both his sons were deceased, and that almost in one hour; JAMES the prince, then one year old, at St. Andrews, ARTHUR, one month old, at Stirling.

The king of England, finding himself disappointed by his nephew of their meeting, and understanding it to have been occasioned by the rhetoric and liberality of the church-men; having many of the nobility of Scotland of his faction (whose innocence interpreted his religion to be the reformed, though indeed it was of his own stamp, for he abolished the pope but not popery) by making prizes of Scottish ships upon the seas with his fleet, and incursions of his garrisoned soldiers upon land, beginneth the prologue of an unnecessary war.

King JAMES, to stop the English incursions, placeth GEORGE GORDON earl of Huntley with his full power and authority at the borders, and directeth JAMES LEARMONT of Darcy towards his uncle, to give sufficient reasons of his not meeting him at Newcastle; withal to seek restitution of his ships, since taken before any lawful war was proclaimed, and to expostulate the hostility of the borderers.

King HENRY not only refuseth to render the ships, or give a reason for the breaking forth of the garrisons on the borders, but delaying the answer of the Scottish ambassador upon advantage of time, sendeth Sir ROBERT BOWES, seconded with the earl of Angus and Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, in hostile manner to invade Scotland. These, to the number of three thousand, burn and spoil small villages, and ravage the country near the debatable bounds. The earl of Huntley omitteth no occasion to resist them, places garrisons in Kells and Jedburgh, assembling all the hardy borderers, and invadeth the English and Scottish forces at a place named Halldenrig; here it is soundly skirmish-

ed,

ed, till the lord HUME by the advancing of four hundred fresh launces turned the fortune of the day; for the English were put to flight, the warden Sir ROBERT BOWES captain of Norham, Sir WILLIAM MOWBRAY, JAMES DOUGLAS of Parkhead, with a natural son of the earl of Angus, were taken prisoners, the earl by the advantage of his horse escaping, with others to the number of six hundred. The warden stayed in Scotland till the king's death.

This road happened prosperously to the Scots, the 24th of August 1541. being a dismal St. Bartholomew to the English.

The war continuing till midsummer, king HENRY sent the earl of Norfolk, whom he named the rod of the Scots, with great power towards Scotland; with him the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland Surrey, Hereford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the North parts of England, with an army of forty thousand men, as they were esteemed. With them he directeth JAMES LEARMONT of Darcy, the Scottish ambassador, to keep an equal march till they came to Berwick, and there to stay, that he should not give advertisement to his master of any of his proceedings; the earl of Huntley upon advantages of places resisting the adventuring routs who essayed to cross the Tweed. But king JAMES hearing the old duke of Norfolk was their leader, raiseth from all the parts of his kingdom companies, and assembling them upon Sawtry-edge, mustered thirty thousand men. They encamped on Falla-Moor, the king having advertisement that the duke would march towards Edinburgh. Ten thousand strong, with the lords HUME, SEATON, and ERSKINE, to make up the earl of Huntley's forces, are sent towards the borders: the king himself expecting the artillery and other furniture of war, stayeth with the body of the army in the camp. During this time it is reported the lords plot a reformation of the court, according to the example practised at Lawder-bridge: especially against such who were named pensioners of the priests; but because they could not agree among themselves about those who should stretch the ropes, every one striving to save his kinsman, or friend, they

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escaped all the danger. This attempt being revealed to the king, he dismissed some of his favourites in great fear to Edinburgh. So malicious is faction armed with power.

THOMAS duke of Norfolk, by such in the Scottish camp who favoured king **HENRY**, having understood the preparation and mind of king **JAMES** to meet him in an open field, well knowing that fortune had that much of a woman to favour young men more than old, and that honourable retreats are no ways inferior to brave charges, retireth off the Scottish ground, and keeps his forces on their own marches. For the valour and resolution of this young prince might, perhaps, spoil and divest him of his former purchased lawreels and palms, to the applause of king **HENRY**, who, some thought, being weary of his service, to this effect sent him to Scotland. A great number of the Lancastrians and Northumbrians, who, upon hopes of spoil, had followed him, pretending want of victuals, and the rigorous season of the year, with arms and baggage leave this army. Having done little harm to the Scots, and suffered much hunger and cold at Berwick, he prepareth a retreat towards London.

When king **JAMES** understood the duke had repassed the Tweed, he encouraged his army to follow him. The common soldier was indifferent; the noblemen refuse to fight except upon Scottish ground. The king urgeth them "with the commodity and advantage of a revenge of the old wrong of the duke, commanding an army neither of the gentry, nor many nobles of England, but of hirelings and pressed artizans; whose number would prove hurtful to themselves, and turn them into a disordered confusion. They had many days suffered famine, and all necessities of war; their vigour and courage was spent; that the English fought far off, and they at home." There wanted not matter to answer, but a man to deliver the king an answer; generally they refuse to fight. "To defend the person of their prince, the state and country, they would hazard their lives, and if they had any thing more dear. If the enemy would stay on Scottish ground, they would do their uttermost to make him retire,

retire, or by main force expel him: but to invade
 England and tempt an army, who not only was re-
 tired, but returned to their own bounds, they neither
 had so just a quarrel as they wished, nor were they
 sufficient at that time to pursue them. Their provi-
 sions for war were spent, the winter approached, and
 victuals were consumed: that despair often turned it-
 self into true fortitude, and men in good order retir-
 ing would not be too near followed, that even flying
 enemies should have bridges of gold. Now if they
 were to charge the enemy they would not have the
 king's presence, a man young, rash, and valorous, up-
 on whose life, not only the glory of the battle, but
 the life of the commonwealth depended, his two sons
 being lately departed. For if the fortune of war brought
 a period to his life, the crown would remain at the
 mercy of the victor; that the king's glory was not
 little, that he had in so short a time with so small for-
 ces, and these suddenly gathered, stopt the progress
 of so mighty an army, which was so long in gathering,
 and boasted of such great matters, yet which durst
 not advance one mile in Scottish ground. Whether
 the English fly or retire, they had suffered as much,
 wrong as they had done, and now to fight them, and
 that perhaps, with disadvantage, was to put in haz-
 ard what was already acquired.

The duke of Norfolk returning to London, the king
 with his army comes to Edinburgh, which immediately
 he disbanded; but he forgot not the secret plot against
 his favorites, nor the open refusal of his nobles to fight
 on English ground: as if the earth were not all one piece
 and matter, and men the destined inhabitants of it e-
 very where; the cardinal DAVID BEATON, OLIVER
 SINCLAIR, CRAIG-ROSS, and others, add fuel to
 these flames, Fala-Moor plot mightily instigating them.

The king avouched publicly, that the nobility nei-
 ther loved his honour, nor desired his continuance among
 them.

To cool these smoking humours, and breed in the
 king fairer hopes of his nobles, the lord MAXWELL of-
 fereth, giving him ten thousand men to command, if
 the state thought it expedient, to invade England at

Sulway, affirming the state and fortune of those who assail; to be better than theirs who are still put to their defence. The English forces being divided, he doubted not to stay longer on English ground, than the duke had done on the Scottish, and to effectuate something to the king's content. The king thanking him for his offer, appointeth a rendezvous to be at the West marches. No proclamations are divulged for the levies of men, but close letters sent.

The cardinal and the earl of Arran (the one a churchman of a mind above many nobles, the other a nobleman of an humility under any churchman) to give a false perspective to those proceedings, by sound of trumpet, and beating of drums, raise men openly, and march towards Haddington, and the East borders; whilst the earls of Cassils, Glencairn, lords FLEMING, SOMERVILLE, ERSKINE, barons AYTON, LANGTON, ORMESTON, WAUGHTON, and many others, accompanied with the king's domestic servants, ride to the West borders.

The night before the road, the king himself came to Lochmaban, attending the event of the incursion. Companies coming from all quarters of the countries about, none knowing of another, with the power of the Scottish borderers, pass the water of and Esk, burn certain hamlets of the GRAHAMS on the very limits.

Sir THOMAS WHARTON, warden of these marches, not a little troubled at such a frequent assembly of the Scottish riders, raising the power of the country, placeth them by a little hill, where he might take a view of their forces, in good order; with him were bastard DACRES, and JACK MUSGRAVE, two valiant captains.

The Scottish lords beholding the English range themselves in a battalion, desire to know the king's lieutenant general, for now it was time to marshal their companies, and every man to take him to his charge. Presently OLIVER SINCLAIR, upon crossed pikes, is mounted, the king's banner displayed, and the commission read, in which he is designed lieutenant, and all are commanded, in the king's name to obey and follow him.

It

It hath been reported by those who were acquainted with ONAYEN, that the commission was not read; but that at his very sight, such a tumult, confused clamour and enter-shouldering of malcontents arose, their ranks were broken, and the military order turned into a confusion, none so repining as the lord MAXWELL and the borderers: who if he had had patience to have heard the commission, as OLIVER protested, was lieutenant, and not he, whose charge was only to present it.

The English, who now were ready for the fight, observing this disorder, take the advantage upon the occasion, and break forwards with a military shout, whilst the others are in doubt whether to fly or stand, and the guidians and scullions are pell mell thronging with the foot-soldiers, and they with the horsemen. Here is a general surprize, most part willingly rendering themselves to the English without any shew of defence, or the slaughter of any person of any side. This overthrow proveth, that neither arms, nor the multitude and numbers of soldiers, without their love and hearts, availeth any thing in a field, yea rather they are hurtful the more in number they be, if their affection be alienated from their commanders.

It is recorded, that at this road, which was named Sulway-Moss, every English man had three or four Scots for prisoners; and when they wanted men to take them, the women of the neighbouring hamlets and boys had prisoners; the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, the lords MAXWELL, FLEMING, SOMERVILE, OLIPHANT, GRAY, ROBERT ERSKINE son to the lord ERSKINE, OLIVER SINCLAIR; the lairds of CRAIGY, AYTON, LANGTON, ORMESTON, WAUGHTON, many of the king's domestic servants, were taken prisoners, brought to London, and remained there till after the king's death.

The certainty of this voluntary defeat coming to the king at Lochmaben, or Carlaverock, as others say, so astonished all the powers of his mind, that he had neither counsel nor resolution what to follow, neither remembering his own valour, nor the number of his subjects yet flourishing; he remained as one distracted, and

abandoned of all hopes. The plot of the nobles at Fa-la-Moor against his servants, the refusing to give battle on English ground, made him apprehend that the whole body of his nobility had conspired his overthrow.

The cardinal and earl of Arran coming to Edinburgh, he also returned; all so cast down, that they were ashamed to come within sight of each other some days.

After which, in a retired manner, he passed to Fife, and from Hall-yards to Falkland, where he gave himself over to sorrow. No man had access unto him, no, not his own domestics. Now are his thoughts busied with revenge, now with rage against his scornful nobility: long watchings, continual cares and passions, abstinence from food and recreation, had so extenuated his body, that pierced with grief, anguish, impatience and despair, he remained fixed to his bed.

In these trances letters come from Linlithgow to him, that the queen was delivered of a daughter the eighth of December. When he heard it was a daughter was born, he is said to have turned his face from them that read the letters, and sighing a farewell to the world, "It will end as it began," says he, the crown came by a woman, and it will with one go many miseries approach this poor kingdom; king HENRY will either make it his by arms or marriage."

The cardinal put in his hands some blank papers, of which they composed a latter-will, which whether he subscribed or not, is uncertain. After which he said not many words which could be understood, but mused on the discomfiture of his servants at the Sulway-Moss. In which fits he left this world the thirteenth of December 1542, the three and thirtieth year of his age, and two and thirty of his reign.

Some record, he was troubled by an unkindly medicine, and that the cardinal was conscious to it, but upon far conjectures: for the event proved that his death was not only the ruin of the cardinal, but of the whole churchmen of the kingdom, and frame of the Roman religion. His body was conveyed from Falkland to Edinburgh; the cardinal, earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, and Marshal, accompanying it; and in January buried in the abbey church of Holy-rood-house,
near

near the body of MAGDALEN his first queen. He left behind him many natural children; of his marriages only one daughter, five days old at his death, the heir of his kingdom and misfortunes.

This king was of a well-made body and excellent mind, if it had been carefully polished; he was of a middle stature; nature had given him strength and ability equal to any; but by exercise he had so confirmed it, that he was able to endure any travel, and practise all sorts of arms, as his pursuing malefactions proved; for he was ordinarily thought the first of his troops who pursued them, and the last that left the chase, being daring and forward. In his private affairs he was attentive and liberal, yet spared his treasure that he should not want, and when occasion required, caring for no charges. Never man did entertain sovereignty more familiarly, being of as easy access to the meaner sort as to the great. He was studious of all good arts, naturally given to poetry, as many of his verses yet extant testify. He was of as great sobriety as of little continency: he was a great favourer of learned men. The poor man loved him, the great feared him: he made the rusk-bushes keep the herds of cattle: he was thankful towards his friends, and dangerous towards his enemies. He infinitely obliged his people by establishing a justice-court among them, and bringing all sorts of manufactures from neighbour nations home. By the Germans he found the gold mines of Crawford-Moor, being unknown to this part of the world before him, out of which he extracted treasure. He left his arsenals furnished with all sorts of arms and furniture for war. Now, as in pictures not only the light but the shadow is observable, let us look upon him in all his umbrages. This prince in his long pursuit of the DOUGLASSES seems to have had a strange humbug, that he could never forgive: and most of his miseries may be traced to this source: these he would have extirpate, and the king of England could not forsake a man who was his brother-in-law, and had been ever obsequious to him; seeking only that he might be restored to his own, out of which he was cast, not by any treason or aspiring to the crown, but of an ambition he had to be near the king.

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equal to any subject; his own worth, kindred and followers animating him thereunto, having married the king's mother, and one of the greatest king's sister of those times.

The burning alive of the lady GLAMIS, beheading of the master of Forbes, and after him Sir JAMES HAMILTON, turned many of the hearts of his nobles from him, and made the commons detract him: for though they delight sometimes to have great men made equal to them, when they find not evident proofs and sound grounds of their sufferings and executions, they abhor the actors. Princes should remember, that as the people are their subjects, so are they the subjects of time and providence.

This humour of revenge made many believe, if he had not been prevented by death, many scaffolds had been embued for Fala-Moor plot and Sulway-Moss. The lord MAXWELL, who had studied the character of the king, at that road vowed, when he might have escaped among his known borderers, he would rather be the king of England's prisoner, and see him at London, than return home, and be shamefully hanged at the cross of Edinburgh.

He studied very much the overthrow of his ancient nobility, not considering that the titles of crowns in hereditary kingdoms belong only to kings, for that they are the most ancient noblemen, and also first of the primitive blood.

In his last years he was altogether governed by Romish prelates, dangerous pilots in the ocean of a troubled state; that body, in which one humour signorizeth, cannot last long; and a prince perisheth when he is governed by only one sort of men. Neither was he ruled so much by them out of great zeal to religion, being a prince altogether given to his own pleasures, as that he found them counterpoise the nobility whilst he swayed the balance.

His death proveth his mind to have been raised to the highest strain, and above mediocrity; for he could die, but could not digest a disaster. He seemeth to have had too much confidence in himself, and that he forgot the conditions of mortality, whilst he suffered himself

to be carried away by the current of grief, and swallowed up in the gulf of despair.

All his faults are but as some few warts in a most pleasing and beautiful face. He was very much beholding to the excellent poets of his time, whose commendation shall serve him for an epitaph. ARIOSTO, who knew him only by fame, in the person of ZERBINO, whom he nameth prince of Scotland, glaunceth at his worth.

Zerbino di Bellezza e di valore

Sopra tutti i Signori eminente,

Di virtù essempio e di Bellezza raro.

BUT RONDZARD, who with his queen came to Scotland, and was his domestic servant, describeth him more to the life.

Ce Roy d'Escoffe estoit en la fleur de ses ans :

Ses Cheveux non tondus comme fin or luisans

Cordonnez et crespéz flotans dessus sa face.

Et sur son col de lait luy donnoit bonne grace.

Son Port estoit royal, son regard vigoureux.

De vertus, et d'honneur, & de guerre amoureux.

La douceur, et la force, illustroient son visage,

Si que Venus et Mars en avoient fait partage.

So happy is a prince when he cherisheth and is entertained by the rare spirits of his time, that even when his treasures, pomp, state, followers, diadems, and all external glory leave him, the sweet incense of his fame, in the temple of honour, perfumeth his altars. A prince's name is surer preserved, and more deeply ingraven in paper, than in all the rusting medals, blasted arches, entombed tombs, which may serve to any as well as to him, raised with such loss of time, vain labours of artizans, and vast expence, to be the sport of the winds, rains, tempests, thunder, earthquakes, or, if they shun all these, of superstition, faction and civil broils.

After this prince had some years rested in a tomb, not only it, but the most part of the church was made equal to the ground, by the armies of his uncle king HENRY VIII. whose malice left him not even when he was dead, proving as horrible an uncle, as Nero was a son. A while after he was transported to another

vault, by the piety of his matchless grand-child JAMES king of Great-Britain; where he was embalmed again, enshrined, and his coffin adorned with the arms of the kingdom, cognizances and a crown. With which honours I leave him, till some famous pen, encouraged by the favours of his royal successors, raise his fame from the dust of obscure papers to eternity.

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James I. set at liberty, 15. his ransom, *ibid.* hostages given for it, *ibid.* comes to Scotland, *ibid.* is crowned, *ibid.* upon the repining of the people he remits part of the subsidy granted him by parliament, 16. hearkens to the complaints of his subjects, 17. causes the governor's son, with several others of the nobility, to be imprisoned for oppression, *ibid.* calls a parliament, 18. his remarkable speech, *ibid.* calls another parliament at Stirling, 20. wherein the late governor, with his two sons, are condemned, and after-

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afterwards beheaded, *ibid.* renews the league with France, 23. 24. goes, in person, to the North, in order to suppress the thefts and robberies committed there, 24. 25. applies himself, afterwards, to the arts of peace, 29. regulates the state, and invites to the kingdom foreign artists and manufacturers, 29. 30. erects schools of learning, 30. recalls all the crown lands that had been alienated, or wrongfully usurped, by the two former governors, 33. renews the league with the king of Denmark, 35. being provoked at the incursions of the English, raises an army, and besieges Roxburgh, 43. raises the siege, because of a conspiracy, and disbandeth the army, 44. is murdered, 49. his character, 49—51.

James II. born, 29. is crowned, and committed to the care of Sir William Creighton, chancellor, 55. clandestinely taken from him by the queen, 57. again recovered into the chancellor's power, 60. takes upon himself the government, 66. receives the earl of Douglas into favour, *ibid.* marries Mary, daughter to the duke of Guelders, 72. makes a truce with the English, 73. and again another, 74. destroys the lands of the Douglasses, 76. by fair letters and promises he gets the earl of Douglas in his power, 80. and upon the earl's refusing to break from the league, kills him, 82. is obliged to raise an army, for his defence, against the Douglasses, 85. ravages the lands of his rebel subjects, 87. besieges the castle of Abercorn, and breaketh the strength of the Douglasses, 91. 92. calls a parliament, and establishes many wholesome laws, 95. receives ambassadors from king Henry, and the duke of York, each imploring his assistance, 97. raises an army, and besieges the castle of Roxburgh, 98. is there slain, 99. his character, 99—101. and children, 101.

James III. crowned, 103. his education committed to the queen his mother, *ibid.* is governed by the Boyds, 111. and by their counsel, he assumes the government in his minority, without the consent of the other regents, 112. marries lady Margaret, daughter of Christiern king of Denmark, 119. gives offence to his subjects by his covetousness, 122. entertains

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James IV. born, 120. forced to head the rebellion against his father, 150. is crowned, 163. causes a great many ships to be built for the security of the commerce of his subjects, 169. turns melancholy for what he had done against his father, and girds himself with an iron chain, as a penance for his heading the rebellion, *ibid.* much given to games, and knightly exercises, 172. receives and entertains Perkin Warbeck, and marries him to the lady Catherine Gordon, 173. raises an army, and, at his desire, enters Northumberland, and ravages it, 174. returns into Scotland, *ibid.* enters England again, and besieges the castle of Norham, *ibid.* concludes a truce with Henry VII. of England, 176. and then a peace, 178. espouses his daughter, *ibid.* his treasury being exhausted by his liberality, he takes means to supply it ungrateful to the people, 180. but desists, upon complaints of their oppression, 181. takes a pilgrimage to St. Ninians in Galloway, for the recovery of the queen, 182. determines on a war with England at the desire of the French, 187. his manifesto against king Henry VIII. 187—191. an apparition dissuades him from the war,

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war, 191. musters his army, and marches into England, 192, 193. routed, with his army; at Flouden, 198, 199. his fate uncertain, 200. his character, 201—204. and issue, 204.

James V. born, 182. crowned, 206. committed to the care of the queen, *ibid.* is taken from his mother, and committed to the custody of four lords, 215. is transported to Dalkeith, 228. again under the government of his mother. 240. the custody of his person committed to eight lords, 243. detained under the custody of the earl of Angus, against his will, 244. his rescue attempted, but in vain, 247—251. makes his escape by a stratagem, 253. gets the Douglasses attainted and forfeited in parliament, 254, 255. concludes a truce with England, 256. institutes the college of justice, *ibid.* a rupture between him and England, 257. concludes a peace, by the mediation of France, 258. the emperor courts his assistance against the king of England, 259, 260. the pope sends presents to him, to move him to oppose Henry VIII. and the reformation, 263. sends an ambassador to England to acquaint the king with the design of the emperor's and pope's embassies, 264. the king of England presents him with the order of the garter, and desires an interview, 264, 265. king James goes to France, 268. marries princess Magdalen of France, and returns to Scotland, 269. condemns the master of Forbes and lady Glamis, 270—273. on the death of his queen, marries Mary of Lorraine, 273. in the national contest about religion, he follows the counsel of the clergy, and opposes the reformation, 279. is desired by the nobles to accept of the interview with his uncle the king of England, 282. but is hindered by the clergy, *ibid.* turns sullen and melancholy, and is troubled with apparitions, 289, 290. his two sons die at one time, 290. raises an army to oppose the incursions of the English, 291. his nobility refuse to enter England, 292. upon which he returns to Edinburgh, and disbands his army, 293. raises another army to be commanded by lord Maxwell, 294. but upon Oliver Sinclair being declared the king's lieutenant in the field, the

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soldiers turn mutinous, and suffer themselves to be surprized and made prisoners by the English, at Sulway-Moss, 294, 295. upon which the king becomes melancholy, and dies, 296. his character, 297—299.

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Jane, queen to James I. 14. takes her son James II. from the chancellor, by stratagem, 57. is married to James Stuart, 59. her death, 71. and children, *ibid.*

Jane, countess of Angus, afterwards countess of Huntley, daughter to James I. 51.

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Innes, laird of, killed in the battle of Stirling, on the king's side, 157.

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Johnston, laird of, imprisoned in Dundee, 267.

Ireland, Dr. sent over from France, to stir up James III. against England, 127. made arch-deacon of St. Andrews, 160.

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Julius II. pope, sends a sword and diadem, etc. as a present to king James IV. 178. a turbulent and haughty prelate, 183. is besieged, with his cardinals, at Bologna, by the French, 184. excommunicates the king of France, and transfers the title of *most Christian king* upon Henry VIII. of England, *ibid.*

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 Livingston, Sir Alexander, of Calendar, made governor of the kingdom, during the minority of James II. 55. falls out with the chancellor, 56. and gets the young king into his power, 57. is reconciled, 58. disgusts the queen, 59. and loses the custody of the king, 60. makes up matters again with the chancellor, *ibid.* invites, along with the chancellor, the earl of Douglas, by fair letters, to Edinburgh, and by their orders he is beheaded in the castle, 61, 64. is forfeited, and imprisoned, by the influence of the earl of Douglas, 72.
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